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Map
OF THE
IONIAN ISLES
Albania Thessaly
MACEDONIA
AND
Greece.
THE IONIAN SEA
CORFU
PAXO
SANTA MAURA
ITHACA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
GULPH of LEPANTO
GULPH OF SALONICA
SALONICA
THASOS
SCYROS
ATHENS
SALAMIS
EGINA
ZEA
THERMIA
HYDRA
ANDROS
MILO
CERIGO
CANDIA
TRIPOLITZA
Arcadia
Corinth
Gulph of Napoli
Gulph of Coron
C. Matapan
Modon
Coron
Navarin
Calamata
Patras
Lepanto
Salona
Delphi
Livadia
Thebes
Negropont
Volo
Larissa
Trikala
Janina
Arta
Prevesa
Avlona
Monaster
Ochrida
Elbasan
Berat
Kastoria
Katerini
Platamona
Cape Paluri
Cape Kara Burnu
Mount Athos
Gulph of Monte Santo or Athos
Gulph of Cassandra
Gulph of Contessa
Cavalla
Fenikeri
Thessalonica
Pharsalia
Thermopylæ
Zeitun
Thomoko
Patradgik
Mezzovo
Meteora
Tornese
Salymbria
Elassona
Pherai
Velestino
Demir Hissar
Kalidromo
Kastri
Livadia
Chelonitza
Vostitza
Kalavrita
Sudena
Chiarenza
Castuni
Navarino
Modon
Coron
Kalamata
Mistra
Gulph of Coron
C. Matapan
Cerigotta
Fenikeri
Kastri
Vostitza

TRAVELS

IN

THE IONIAN ISLES,

ALBANIA,

THESSALY, MACEDONIA, &c.

DURING THE YEARS

1812 AND 1813.

85303

BY

HENRY HOLLAND, M.D. F.R.S.

&c. &c.

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PREFACE.

I OFFER this narrative of my travels in Greece with much diffidence to the Public, apprehensive that it may be thought that Greece has already been sufficiently explored by former writers. The Public has recently received valuable information from the works of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Hobhouse, respecting the character of the modern Greeks. I have carefully avoided the repetition of what they have told, and have refrained from all formal dissertation on the subjects of which they have treated; but I have interwoven with my narrative various anecdotes and observations, which will, I hope, further illustrate the subject, and add some information relative to the present state of literature and cultivation in Greece.

Had I been previously aware that Major Leake intended to publish his "Researches in Greece," I should scarcely have had courage to commence my own work; but having begun the narrative, I was led to persevere, from the consideration that it related principally to parts of that country as yet little known or described. I think it fortunate that I had directed my views more particularly to such

districts, though they may not have so many claims as others on the attention of the classical reader. The interest which the world now takes in Greece, refers not merely to ancient times, but regards also the future condition of a people who are again resuming a national character, and whom time and political changes may again raise to perfect independence.

I shall conduct the reader through the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, and some parts of Macedonia, sketching afterwards more rapidly my route through the southern parts of Greece, and finally describing the second journey I made through the dominions of Ali Pasha. I have dwelt particularly on the government and extraordinary character of this modern ruler of Albania, with which I had peculiar opportunities of becoming acquainted.

While I have selected for description those parts of Greece which are least generally known, I have endeavoured to convey a full idea of the scenery of the country, and of whatever remains of antiquity are scattered over its surface. I might further have enlarged on the subject of these antiquities, by citing additional authorities, and quoting discordant opinions, but I have forborne such discussions, aware that they can have little interest for the generality of readers. Upon the most correct information that I could collect I have given the population of the country; and, considering that the mineralogy and other parts of the natural history of Greece are yet only partially known, I have been anxious to obtain and to communicate information on these subjects. The results which I have presented may at least assist in giving a useful direction to future observations.

I had intended to have inserted in the Appendix a memoir on the principal diseases, and on the state of medicine in Greece; but this may be placed more properly in some publication better adapted to the circulation of medical facts.

A preface filled with apologies is an acknowledgment of faults, which a man coolly determines to commit. I shall not, therefore, attempt to excuse the want of a good map, by pleading the loss of my actual surveys, and of a considerable part of my journal. Whatever I have left untold will soon come before the Public from more fortunate, and more enlightened travellers than myself. From the hands of Major Leake, and Sir W. Gell, maps may be expected far superior to any thing which I could have offered, had my papers been preserved.

I shall detain the reader no longer than to assure him, that among the many deficiencies he must find in the following pages, he will have no just cause to accuse the author of want of fidelity.

Rome,
31st of October, 1814.

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I QUITTED England early in the spring of 1812, having the general design of visiting the Mediterranean; but with the previous object of passing a few months in the military hospitals of our army in the Peninsula. With this plan I disembarked at Lisbon; and after a short tour along those wonderful lines of fortification, within which, it might be said, that the germ of European liberty was at one time enclosed; I proceeded up the Tagus to Santarem, at this period of the war one of our principal hospital establishments in Portugal: the fine situation of the town, its numerous convents, and the facilities of communication by the Tagus, were among the chief circumstances which led to the selection of this station. The capture of Badajos had recently taken place; and when I arrived here, the hospitals were crowded with the wounded and sick lately sent down from the army. At one period of my residence in Santarem, the number amounted to nearly two thousand; who were distributed among five large convents, in the higher part of the city. Many of these men, however, were already invalided, and waiting only for conveyance to England.

To detail the medical observations I made during my stay here, would be foreign to the subject of this volume; and the less needful, as we may expect from some of the medical men, who have long served in the Peninsula, an ample account of their extensive and various practice. I cannot refrain, however, from noticing, what must interest every reader; the singular excellence which the hospital system of the army had at this time attained. I have visited many hospitals in England, Ireland, and Scotland; but have seen few that might compare in convenience, propriety, and good management, with those I attended while at Santarem; none, certainly, which procured more positive comfort to the sick, or were more successful in the medical practice they afforded. It is true that the convents of this city were admirably adapted to this purpose; but the regulation of the establishments depended on the zeal of the medical officers; and the excellence of this regulation, was as creditable to them, as it was beneficial to the army and the country.*

All that can lessen the afflictions of war must be grateful to the mind; and it is among the noblest features in the character of the General to whom England and Europe are so deeply indebted, that his career of victory was one also of humanity; and that the life of the soldier was not wantonly thrown away, either in battle or by succeeding neglect. That this is not an empty tribute of praise, will be felt by all who knew the active superintendance which the Duke of Wellington exercised in every department of his army; and in particular the attention he gave to its hospital establishments. He was ably seconded in this by the Inspector-general, Dr. Macgregor, who maintained a system of minute regularity, doubtless contributing much to the welfare of this branch of the service.

From Santarem I made an excursion to Caldas, the most celebrated watering-place in Portugal. The great spring here is a

* At this time Dr. Buchan was at the head of the hospital establishment at Santarem.

sulphureous, saline chalybeate; and thermal also, having a temperature of 93° or 94°, where it issues from the ground*. I visited the Portuguese hospital at this place; but found it on a small scale, and at this time very indifferently conducted.

Leaving Santarem, I proceeded further up the country to Abrantes, another of the chief hospital stations of the army; where I resided some time with similar views. The number of cases of fever, and acute diseases, I found to be much greater here than at Santarem; and the medical practice was proportionally more interesting and instructive. The effects of the climate, and of particular localities, in producing and modifying the progress of disease, were among the more remarkable circumstances which occurred to my notice in this as well as in the former place. The principal hospital at Abrantes was not actually in the city, but formed a large and picturesque encampment on the southern bank of the Tagus, shaded behind by the extensive olive-groves which border on the river. The internal regulation, amidst this assemblage of tents, was not inferior to that in the great convent at Santarem.†

I subsequently visited, but in a more cursory way, two or three smaller hospitals at Niza, and other places on the frontier of Spain. Having fulfilled at length the medical purposes I had in view, I returned down the country to Lisbon, to prosecute my voyage thence towards the Mediterranean.

A stormy passage of a week brought me to Gibraltar. Two days of this time our vessel was in the Bay of Cadiz, and each

* The analysis of this water, which was made by Dr. Withering, gives three-fourths of a grain of silica in 128 ounces; in this respect affording an analogy to the Bath springs, as well as to those of Carlsbad and Brighton: the same quantity of water yields 6¼ oz. measures of sulphureted hydrogen, 2½ grains of iron, 148 grains of muriate of soda, and other salts in smaller quantity.

† The hospitals I afterwards saw at Vittoria and Bilbao, on my return to England through Spain, though established in the midst of a rapid campaign, yet bore testimony to the same active spirit of order and good regulation.

morning and evening I listened to the heavy sound of the shells, which the French mortars were throwing into the city, from a distance of more than three miles. It was their last effort as a besieging army; information of the battle of Salamanca had just reached them, and but a few days elapsed before they made their final retreat from the south of Spain.

The scenery of the straits of Gibraltar has scarcely had sufficient justice done it in description. Europe and Africa vie with each other, in the magnificence of the boundary they give to this extraordinary passage from an ocean to inland seas. The effect of natural grandeur is aided by various impressions, which accompany the voyager in his progress between their shores. They are viewed as the entrance to the scene of antient empire, and as a barrier at the same time, which stopped the progress of ancient power. The changes of men and nations are suggested in rapid succession to the mind, as vessels are seen urging their way through this channel, which come from the people of a new world; from islands and continents scarcely known even to the imagination of antiquity. Every point on the surrounding shores gives the note of some event, which is consecrated to history; and the names of St. Vincent, Trafalgar, Tariffa, Algeziras, and Gibraltar, are among those which our own annals will convey to succeeding times.

At Gibraltar I remained but long enough to survey that marvellous machinery of fortification, which, together with the natural features of the spot, renders it one of the most remarkable places in the world. I again embarked thence in a vessel bound to Sicily; landed for a short time amidst the lofty mountains which form the coast of Murcia*; touched at Majorca, and passed two days at Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. It had been my design, when leaving England, to spend some time in this island, hitherto almost

* Many of the mountains here are composed of chlorite slate, with a very contorted stratification. The circumference of the Peninsula is almost every where mountainous, supporting that great tract of table land, which forms the central provinces of Spain, with an elevation of from 1600 to 2000 feet above the sea.

a *terra incognita* to the rest of Europe; but I was prevented from executing this plan by various circumstances, which it would be needless to detail. To the mineralogist Sardinia offers many objects of much interest; many also to the lovers of nature, in the great mountain scenery which is spread over its surface. It is a fact not generally known, that the southern portion of the island is in part a volcanic region, and that obsidian, pumice, and compact lavas exist in great abundance in the district of the Capo de Sassari. The specimens in the Museum at Cagliari sufficiently attest this fact; and further shew the existence of much primitive country in the island, of various metallic ores, and of a formation of coal. In the subjoined note* are a few details, as well on this subject, as in

* Sardinia is divided into three provinces: the Capo de Sassari in the north; the Lugo d'Oro traversing the middle of the island; and the Capo de Cagliari forming its southern portion. The first of these is mountainous throughout the greater part of its extent; and Ginargentino, though not yet measured, is considered one of the highest points in the island. The volcanic country is chiefly at the north-west angle of Sardinia; and Orsino, and other villages near Sassari, are said to be entirely built of pumice rock. The Chevalier Prunner, of the Museum at Cagliari, has written a memoir on the extinct volcanoes of the island, and speaks of seventy-two craters; but whether he is accurate in distinguishing them, I am unable to say. The general fact, however, is interesting, as it extends the great volcanic area of the south of Europe, which comprizes in its circuit, Etna, Vesuvius, Sardinia, Pentelaria, and the never-ceasing fires of the Lipari Isles.

The Lugo d'Oro is also very mountainous: silver and lead ores have been found here, it is said, in considerable quantity. I saw an analysis of one silver ore, which gave 70 per cent. of the metal; but this was probably a select specimen. The King of Sardinia was lately led to believe, partly perhaps from the name of this district, that he had gold mines in his island territory; but analysis has put a dead blank opposite the word, in the specimens brought for examination. The Cavaliere St. Reale, who conducted these analyses, is a man of much science and observation.

The Capo de Cagliari, though for the most part very mountainous, yet contains extensive plains, stretching between Cagliari and Oristano. A considerable part of this district appears to be of primitive formation. The mountain of Argentu, about forty miles to the north of Cagliari, is perhaps the loftiest in the island; and, as it is said to have snow upon it all the year, may be from 6 to 7000 feet in height.

The pitch coal, of which I saw specimens, is said to occur in the centre of the isle, but not in large quantity. Among the other Sardinian specimens in the Museum (the collec-

relation to the internal state of the country. Sardinia has been secluded, not only from the observation, but in great part from the progressive improvement of the rest of Europe; and the traveller will find in its peasantry a wildness of garb, manner, and custom, which can scarcely be classed with the usages of civilized life. The miniature court of the King, which was then resident in Cagliari, had not sufficient power to collect all the revenues of the country, still less to change or ameliorate the condition of the people. The recent political events have done nothing for Sardinia; and an island, equal to Sicily in extent, still remains a solitary spot on the face of Europe; its most frequent visitors the pirates of the Barbary coast.

I landed in Sicily at Trapani, the antient Drepanum; a spot that has been consecrated to posterity by the genius of Virgil. Thence I travelled to Palermo, the splendid and luxurious capital of the island; a city almost unequalled in the beauty of its situation, but peopled by a nobility degraded in morals, and by inferior classes

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tion of which, however, was extremely defective), I found varieties of granite, sienite, primitive slate, marble, limestone with shells, bituminous wood, lead, copper, and silver ores, arsenical pyrites; with very fine amathysts, opals, schorls, &c.

The present population of Sardinia is about 450,000: in 1750 it did not exceed 360,000: but it is still capable of great increase. The island was once spoken of as one of the granaries of Rome (Cic. pro. leg. Manil.): now the *Sardinia ferax* can scarcely provide subsistence for its own population. Cagliari, the capital, splendid in its situation, ill built, and comfortless within, contains 25,000 people. The University is frequented by about 500 students, and has a library of 18,000 volumes. Sassari, the second city of the island, has a population of 15,000.

It is worthy of remark that more than half the land in Sardinia belongs to Spanish proprietors; having been continued to them under the treaty by which Spain resigned the island. The country contains about 9,000 square miles, of which 5,200 are thus appropriated, with a population of 220,000 souls. The Marquis of Benevente alone is said to possess a district of more than 1600 square miles.

A voluminous work, entitled "Rifiorimento de Sardegna," was published in 1776 by F. Gemelli, a professor in the College of Sassari: it contains much information respecting the interior state of the island.

who participate in the corruption, and exhibit all the vices of an oppressed and servile nation. The accounts given by modern travellers of the present state of Sicily are not greatly exaggerated. Nowhere is the contrast between nature and man so strongly marked: nowhere is the picture more striking of the effects of a bad provincial government upon the condition and habits of the people. At this time the ministry, of which the Prince Belmonte was a principal member, were making endeavours to give to the country a new constitution, framed on the English model. The attempt for a time gained upon the popular feeling, but obstacles crowded around on every side to obstruct its progress. The pernicious influence still exerted by the Queen; the vicious intrigues of the aristocracy; the conjoint resolution of the nobles and clergy not to suffer encroachment on their privileges; and the feebleness of the Chamber of Commons; — all conspired to impede reform, and perpetuate abuse. Melancholy as is the fact, yet it must be allowed, that there were not in Sicily, at this time, a sufficient number of incorrupt men to fill the offices under the new constitution; nor was the state of education such as to hold out more than a remote prospect of improvement. Talents and quickness are far from wanting to the Sicilians; but these have hitherto been nurtured only under slavery, and rarely devoted but to the purposes of corruption. I am willing to believe, however, that this agitation of reform may eventually hasten its progress, whatever be the future political fortune of this island.

From Palermo, I proceeded along the northern coast of Sicily to Milazzo, and thence passed over to the Lipari Isles. The survey of these very extraordinary volcanic phenomena occupied several days, and afforded me the more satisfaction, from their analogy to many facts I had before observed in the great volcanic region of Iceland. Independently, however, of such sources of comparison, the Isles of Lipari must be interesting to every naturalist; and they afford a scenery at once singular and sublime, in the perpetual fires which issue from the lofty cave of Stromboli, in the vast crater of Volcano,

inferior only to that of Etna in magnitude; and in the mountains of pumice, the streams of obsidian, and the selenitic rocks, which occur in the island, properly called by the name of Lipari. A few of the observations made in these isles, I have briefly stated in the note below*. After reading Mr. Tennant's paper in the Geological

* Lipari, the largest of these isles, though not now the scene of active volcanic phenomena, yet is more interesting in its products than either Stromboli or Volcano. An enumeration of these would include different varieties of compact lava, obsidian, pumice, volcanic tuffa, sulphur ashes, or scoriæ; and several, which may be called secondary, as selenite, sulphate of alumine, sulphuret of iron, &c. The tuffa forms several of the hills, in the interior of the isle, the height of which has been greatly exaggerated by Dolomieu and Spallanzani. The lavas, which chiefly appear on the coast, are remarkable for their general tendency to the vitreous character, and are often penetrated by veins of obsidian or pumice, as may be well seen in the great mass of rock on which stands the castle of Lipari. — Whatever it may be in Hungary, or at Andernach, obsidian is certainly a volcanic product in Lipari, occurring with other parts of the volcanic formation, in beds, veins, streams, and fragments, and exhibiting every stage of transition both into compact lava and pumice. These facts are very strikingly seen in a great stream of this substance, which terminates in a cliff upon the shore, to the south of the pumice mountain of Campo Bianco; some parts of which exhibit the perfect black, conchoidal obsidian; others, different degrees of vitrification, passing into pumice and unvitrified lava. — The tuffa of Lipari contains much obsidian, mixed with scoriæ, and other volcanic fragments.

The pumice of Lipari is a singular feature in the mineralogy of the island: it occurs everywhere in the tuffa, and appears also in the vitrified lavas; but its principal accumulation is in the northern part of the isle, where it appears to form entire hills, of great height and extent, and in quantity sufficient for the perpetual supply of the world. The Campo Bianco, which is upwards of 600 feet in height, is the most extraordinary of these hills, exhibiting a series of alternate ridges and hollows, some hundred in number, formed by the deep fissures in the pumice, which are extremely regular, inclined at an angle of about 40°, and varying from 10 to 40 or 50 feet in depth. There can be little question that this pumice is a volcanic product, and connected with the origin of the obsidian, which is so abundant in the same vicinity; but it may be more doubtful whether its beds have successively flowed from a crater, as is supposed by Dolomieu.

The temperature of the hot springs, which form the baths of Lipari, I found to be 138°.

The Isle of Volcano is chiefly interesting from its great crater, which forms an inverted cone, about a mile in circumference, and nearly 500 feet in depth; — from a stream of obsidian and semi-vitrified lava, which descends from near the lips of the crater to the sea; — from the columnar appearances in some compact lavas, which form an escarpement on the

Transactions, on the native boracic acid, found in connection with some specimens from Lipari, it was very interesting to me to find this substance in large quantity within the crater of Volcano; forming a white feathery covering to the sulphur, which is deposited from sublimation in various parts of this great cavity.

Returning to Milazzo, I pursued my route to Messina, and thence along the magnificent coast formed by the primitive Neptunian mountains, and by the volcanic region of Etna, to Catania, a place eminent among the cities of Sicily for extent and beauty, and yet more so, from the comparative excellence of its institutions and society; interesting too from its relation to the history of that vast volcano, which rises from its wide base on these shores, with a majesty and singleness of form and outline, which render it almost unique among the mountains of the world. Though the year was now far advanced, I was fortunate in my ascent of Etna, and accomplished all I could desire in the survey of its wonders of landscape, and of those volcanic phenomena which bear with them the record of nearly thirty centuries, and of no fewer than sixty eruptions. While refraining from all description, I cannot omit to notice the impression I derived from the singular contrast between the smiling and luxuriant surface of the lower region of Etna, and the picture I still had in my mind of the broken, wild, and desolate aspect of the volcanic country in Iceland. Nor can I refrain from mentioning the monument which the English have left of their residence in Sicily, in a small house built for the accommodation of travellers, just below the upper cone of Etna, and at the height of

coast;—and especially from the production of boracic acid, together with the sulphur, which every-where lines the interior of the crater. I descended, though with much difficulty, to the very bottom of this vast hollow, and procured thence some fine specimens of the different productions of the volcano.

I found the peninsula of Milazzo, just opposite the Lipari Isles, to be composed of gneiss, with some marbles, and appearances of granite veins. The tract of the Neptunian mountains, between Milazzo and Messina, exhibits also primitive slate rocks, with some local deposits of a shell limestone.

nearly 9,000 feet above the level of the sea. The building in itself is not magnificent, but in its situation and design it is worthy of a great and cultivated people; and the name of the *Casa Inglesa* may long be matter of national pride to future travellers in this country.*

Leaving Catania, I visited Augusta, and the venerable remains of the ancient Syracuse, and from this point returned to Messina; proposing to myself to visit at a future time the temples of Girgenti, and the great sulphur mines of the Val di Noto. Between Catania and Messina, I stopped two or three days at Tauromina, a city unparalleled perhaps in the magnificence of its situation, and boasting a noble monument of antiquity in the ruins of the great theatre which crown its heights.

At Messina were made the final arrangements for the voyage to Greece, which forms the subject of the succeeding narrative.—My original plan was much less extensive than that which I finally accomplished; comprizing little more than a journey through the Morea into Attica and Beotia. But schemes of travel usually grow as they proceed, and various circumstances which will afterwards be related, contributed to lengthen out this voyage to a period of nearly seven months. I was very fortunate in meeting at Messina a gentleman, who had the same general object as myself in visiting Greece, and with whom I could satisfactorily concert all the plans for this expedition †. We entered upon the voyage together, and I was happy in having his society during four months of the time which it eventually occupied.

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* The design of this edifice was suggested about three years ago, when our army was stationed on the coast, opposite Calabria; and it was executed by the voluntary contribution of officers and travellers in the island: it contains three apartments, and a stable; and though at the time I was there, some internal accommodation was still wanting, this has probably since been added by the same spirit which suggested the erection. Over the door is the following inscription:—"*Ætnam perlustrantibus has ædes Britanni in Siciliâ, anno Salutis* 1811."

† J. Ramsay, Esq., of Messina.

On the evening of the 14th of October we sailed from Messina in a small armed cutter, carrying the mail from Sicily to the Ionian Isles. Notwithstanding some partial calms, the morning of the fourth day shewed us in the distance the high mountain-land of Cephalonia, and before noon we had entered the channel which separates this island from the neighbouring one of Zante. The only incident during the passage was our meeting with two large ships, bound from Alexandria to Tangiers, and freighted with Moors who had been making the great pilgrimage to Mecca. While passing these vessels, all the pilgrims assembled on the deck to gaze at us: their turbaned heads and dark-bearded visages afforded a singular spectacle to an eye, not yet familiar with the manners and costume of the east.

The western coast of Zante exhibits only a range of limestone hills, forming steep cliffs to the sea; and from this side nothing is seen of that picturesque beauty which has obtained for this isle the epithet of "The Flower of the Levant." Cephalonia, on the other hand, shews its fairest part towards the south-west. The deep port of Argostoli branches from this direction towards the interior of the isle, environed by fertile and richly-wooded hills, which rise gradually into the heights of the Black Mountain; a ridge so lofty that it may be seen at the distance of 70 miles, and finely broken by deep gullies in the precipitous front, which it presents to the southern coast. The respective character of the two islands gradually changed as we proceeded slowly along the channel which divides them. The scenery, too, became each moment more interesting as we advanced; and after passing Capo Skenati, on the coast of Zante, a splendid panorama opened out before us. We now seemed as in a great lake: on the left hand were the mountains of Cephalonia; to the right the shores of Zante, here gradually receding towards the south, softened in character, and extending backwards into rich and luxuriant plains, covered with vineyards, olive-groves, gardens, and villas. In front

of the view, and forming a great semicircle to the eye, appeared the sacred shores of the ancient Greece, upon which we now gazed for the first time. The outline of this coast, though yet far distant, shewed us distinctly the opening of the Gulph of Corinth to the Ionian sea; soon, indeed, closed in by the mountains of Achaia and Acarnania which form its boundary; yet not refusing to the fancy all that lies beyond of scenery, consecrated by the history of past ages. From this intermediate point the view extended northwards, even to the hills of Albania, the ancient Epirus; and southwards was carried far along the shores of the Peloponnesus, level and fertile towards the sea, where they form the region of Elis, but rising behind into lofty groupes of mountains, yet more celebrated as a part of the ancient Arcadia.

Nothing could be more fortunate than the aspect under which we saw a scene, thus magnificent in itself, and interesting in the associations it afforded. The evening was remarkably clear and serene; a gentle wind from the south carried us slowly along the channel, bringing with it, from the plains of Zante, a fragrant odour, which was distinctly perceptible even three miles from the land*. While entering the bay on which stands the city of Zante, the moon, now near its full, rose from behind the mountains of the Morea, and drew a softened outline of these beautiful shores. The name of Akroteria, given to a line of wooded cliffs which form the northern boundary of the bay, brought to mind many impressions of ancient time and language. The heights of Monte Skopo, which, on the opposite side, rise about 1,200 feet above the sea, afforded an object extremely imposing to the eye. The city was seen, in the interval, at the upper part of the bay, stretching in a semicircular line along its shore, or ascending the side of a steep and broken hill; on the summit of which stands the castle of Zante, commanding in its situation every part of the town.

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* Those who may have resided in Zante will at once recal the reality of this fact.

We landed on a pier, sheltering the inner part of the bay, and were conducted to a large triangular area, which forms the central and most remarkable point in the city. It was crowded with an assemblage of people, singular in their intermixture and appearance. In one spot was seen a groupe of Zantiotes, uniting the Venetian with the Greek in their external costume and manner; in another place, a body of soldiers of the Greek regiment, their dress at this time little altered from its national character, and their aspect as little fashioned into the military mould of European troops; in other parts of the area, the red-faced English soldier, curiously contrasted with the natives of the country, in the feature and expression of his countenance, as well as in his military dress; and, in addition to these, Corsican and Calabrian soldiers, sailors from various parts of the Mediterranean, and a few Greek merchants, habited in the fashion of continental Greece, which will hereafter be described. This singular national mixture is found in many of the Mediterranean ports, as will be familiar to the memory of all who have traversed the streets of Gibraltar or Malta.

During our stay in Zante, which did not at this time exceed four days, we resided in the house of Mr. Forbes, then the principal in the commissary department of the islands. At two subsequent periods, when making a longer stay here, I was most hospitably entertained by Mr. Foresti, the English minister in the Ionian Isles, a gentleman whose personal kindness has recommended him to the gratitude of the traveller, as much as his public services, for a period of forty years, have done to that of the country. During these several residences in Zante, I had the means of examining every part of the island; the scale of which is such as to lay it almost at once before the eye, and its natural beauties sufficient to awaken all the attention of the stranger. Its connection with England during the last four years of the war, may render interesting a short sketch of the natural features and population of the country.

The circumference of Zante is nearly sixty miles; and in size, as well as population, it ranks next to Corfu and Cephalonia among the

Ionian Isles. The greater part of the island is formed by an extensive plain, which stretches from the northern to the southern coast, with a breadth of six or eight miles, bounded on the west by a parallel range of hills, which form the coast on this side; to the east by Monte Skopo, and the eminences surrounding the city of Zante. Two bays break into the general circular outline of the coast; one, on which stands the city; the other on the southern side of the isle; each affording an anchorage for ships. The channel between Zante and the Morea is so much narrowed by the projecting point of Chiarenza on the continent*, that in one place it does not exceed twelve miles; and with the relative situation of Cephalonia to the north, the island is thus sheltered on two sides from the open sea.†

The number of inhabitants in the isle amounts to about 40,000; of whom, it is believed, that 16,000 or 18,000 reside in the city. The great plain of Zante, in the abundant provision it affords for an export commerce, forms the principal support of this population, and a source of considerable wealth to the island. Looking down upon this plain from any of the surrounding eminences, it has the aspect of one continued vineyard, with a few intervals only of land occupied in tillage or pasture. There is an air of luxuriant fertility and richness in the landscape, the effect of which is increased by the neatness employed in the distribution and culture of its surface. Numerous villages and country-houses are scattered over the plain,

* This was formerly the promontory of Chelonites. It has been supposed that our English title of Clarence was derived from Chiarenza or Clarenza, the more modern name of this spot; but the surmise is certainly very doubtful. Clarenza was the residence of the Princes of Achaia, of the family of Villehardouin; the heiress of which house married Florent de Hainault. The title of Clarence was first given in England by Edward III. to his son Lionel, by Philippa of Hainault; who, however, had only this indirect connection with the house of Villehardouin. It is more probable that the title was derived from that of Clare; being given to Lionel on his marriage with the daughter of Hulic de Burgh, Earl of Clare. The duchy of Chiarenza was one of the four divisions of the Morea, when possessed by the Venetians after the treaty of Carlowitz in 1698.

† One shipwreck has occurred on the coast of Zante, which may be worthy of notice, as the celebrated anatomist, Vesalius, perished on this occasion.

surrounded by gardens or by groves of olive, orange, and other fruit trees. The sides of the hills which form its boundary, present every-where this mingled scenery of wood and cultivation, particularly on the declivity of Monte Skopo, and the eminences adjoining the city, where the groves are of greater extent, and broken by many deep valleys which afford an infinite variety of surface. The range of hills on the western side the island, is more uniform in its outline, with an elevation varying from 1,000 to 1,300 feet above the sea. Their slope into the plain is likewise extremely beautiful; and the limit they give is one that harmonizes well with the other parts of the scenery. On the whole, it is probable that there are few spots in the world possessing a more entire and finished beauty than the little island of Zante.

The situation of the town has already been noticed, on the eastern coast, and at the upper part of a bay, of which it follows the semi-circular outline. Its extreme length, as it stretches along the shore, is nearly a mile and a half; but the breadth no where exceeds 300 yards, except in one place, where the houses extend up the ascent of the hill, on which the castle stands. In consequence of the long connection of Zante with Italy, the style of building is chiefly Italian; and the interior of the city every-where shews great neatness; in some points, even a certain degree of magnificence. The streets in general are narrow, the houses in the principal streets (which are built of stone) usually four or five stories in height. Many churches appear in different parts of the city and its environs; a few of them having steeples, the remainder with the elevated facade which is seen in the Catholic churches in Sicily, Spain, and elsewhere. These are almost the only public buildings, as it is but of late years that Zante has been made a seat of government for the other isles. Among the private houses, many are of larger size; but according to the custom of the south of Europe, it rarely happens that the ground floor is inhabited by the family. The aspect of the streets is rendered somewhat dull by the closely-barred lattices, which cover most of the windows, projecting forwards in such manner as to form

a sort of triangular box; through the bars of which a female figure may now and then be seen by those passing below.

The principal street is one which runs parallel to the shore of the bay: this, in many places, is lined with piazzas, and contains a number of shops; most of them designated by Italian signs, but some employing the Romaic or modern Greek language. These shops have little exterior shew, but are tolerably well supplied with the common manufactured and colonial articles, which of late have been obtained chiefly from Malta. The people employed in them display more of activity and civil manner than the indolent shopkeepers who are to be found in the towns of Spain, Portugal, and Sicily; and the purchaser is not here sent away, because he wishes to see an article, which may chance to be on an upper shelf, as often happens in the former countries.

The environs of the city afford a scenery of the most picturesque kind, derived in part from the distant views of the Grecian mountains, partly from the shores of the island itself, as they sweep round to form the bay of Zante. This scenery is peculiarly striking to the north-west of the city, where, amidst the broken and wooded eminences which terminate towards the sea, in the cliffs of Akroteria, numerous villas and cottages are seen, surrounded by their trellises of vines, and by all the luxuriant foliage of the fruit-trees of this climate; or here and there a small chapel, sheltered in the recess of a valley, or by the deep shade of the olive woods; with intervals between the eminences, through which may be seen the rich plain below, the sea, or the shores of Cephalonia and the Morea. It is this scenery which is so admirably described by Mr. Wright, in his poem of the Horæ Ionicæ; nor would it be easy to add to the picture of it, which he has given in that beautiful poem.

The hill on which the castle stands, is about 350 feet in height: composed of a loose friable material, chiefly calcareous in its nature, with some proportion of clay and sand: its sides are intersected by deep gullies; and it is so much affected by earthquakes, that several portions of the new wall, erected since the arrival of the English,

have been thrown down from this cause. The castle, which covers the summit, owes its origin to the Venetians: its area is large, including, besides barracks and store-houses, many detached private buildings, with gardens annexed to them. When our troops took Zante in 1810, the fortifications were found in very bad repair; but much labour has subsequently been given to their improvement and extension; the expence being defrayed by the revenues of the island. The views from the castle are extremely fine; and during the summer months, a residence here is considered much more desirable than in the city below.

There are no other towns in the isle of Zante; but numerous villages and hamlets, many of them singular in the beauty of their situation. The country on the skirts and ascent of Monte Skopo is interesting from the number of villas, convents, and chapels, which are scattered over its broken surface, and under the shade of the olive-groves, covering the lower part of this mountain. Though Zante presents every-where an aspect of luxuriant vegetation, yet the number of forest trees in the island is very inconsiderable, and the epithet of *nemorosa Zacynthus* could now be given to it only from the woods of olive which border the coast, and the fruit-trees which are abundant over the surface of the country.

Few remains of antiquity occur in this isle; in part, perhaps, owing the ravages of the Goths when they took it, under the emperors Valerian and Gallienus. At the village of Melinado, some portions of granite columns, with Ionic capitals, are seen in a church, which have been supposed to belong to an ancient temple of Diana. About the middle of the sixteenth century, a sepulchral stone is said to have been found in digging the foundation of a Latin church; which, from the inscription upon it, and upon an urn that lay beneath, was thought to have covered the ashes of Cicero*, brought hither by his

* The inscription on the stone is, "M. T. CICERO. HAVE. ET. TU. TERTIA. ANTONIA." The urn simply bore the words, "AVE. MAR. TUL." The Latin Bishop Ramondini, who wrote an account of Zante, about sixty years ago, (*De Zacynthi Antiquitatibus et Fortunâ,*) has described this sepulchral stone and urn.

slaves, after the massacre at the Formian villa. The supposition, however, is a very uncertain one, and not sufficiently confirmed by historic testimony.

The pitch-wells of Zante are a natural phenomenon, which may be regarded as among the antiquities of the isle; since they were known and described as early as the time of Herodotus; and are mentioned since by Pausanias, Pliny, and other authors. They are situated about ten miles from the city, and near the shore of the bay, on the southern side of the island: we visited this spot, which is called Chieri, a day or two after our arrival in Zante. A small tract of marshy land, stretching down to the sea, and surrounded on other sides by low eminences of limestone or a bituminous shale, is the immediate situation of the springs: they are found in three or four different places of the morass, appearing as small pools; the sides and bottom of which are thickly lined with petroleum, in a viscid state, and by agitation easily raised in large flakes to the surface. The most remarkable of these pools is one circular in form, about 50 feet in circumference, and a few feet in depth, in which the petroleum has accumulated to a considerable quantity. The water of the spring, which is doubtless the means of conveying the mineral upwards to the surface, forms a small stream from the pool, sensibly impregnated with bituminous matter, which it deposits in part, as it flows through the morass: the other pools are of similar character. The petroleum is collected generally once in the year; and the average quantity obtained from the springs is said to be about a hundred barrels; it is chiefly used for the caulking of vessels, not being found to answer equally well for cordage.

It is a striking instance of the stability of nature, that these pitch-springs should have continued nearly in the same state between two and three thousand years. The description of Herodotus corresponds well with their present appearances*; and now, as in his time, the pitch is

* See Herod. lib. iv. 195. The historian speaks of the largest pool as about 70 feet in circumference; and Mr. Wright finds, somewhat further from the shore than the present pools, a circular wall, the area of which corresponds with this size. It is easily conceivable

collected by drawing it from the pools on a bough of myrtle, or other shrub, attached to a pole. It is a general belief in Zante, that more pitch is brought up in the pools at the time of earthquakes; and it is by no means improbable that this may happen from the agitation given to the strata which yields this mineral. The country in the vicinity of the springs is less peopled than the rest of the isle; and the low hills surrounding the marsh are chiefly grown over with myrtle, cystus, locust-tree, and other shrubs.

The greater part of Zante is composed of calcareous rocks, which form the range of hills on the western side of the island, and the insulated mass of Monte Skopo on its eastern coast. The limestone of this isle doubtless belongs to the great calcareous formation of Greece, which will hereafter be noticed in various places, as well in the different varieties of marble rocks, as also in the extensive mountain ranges of limestone containing flint. There is much difficulty in assigning a geological place to some parts of this calcareous formation; and I found a certain degree of this in regard to the limestone of Zante, which cannot be described as primitive, though I observed scarcely any vestiges of fossil remains in the great mass of the rock. I must not omit, however, to notice the formation of gypsum, which appears on various parts of its surface, forming many of the projecting points, or occupying the hollows on the side of Monte Skopo; and near a village in the centre of the isle, appearing in low, round-backed eminences, bare of vegetation, and presenting a singular aspect from the partial lustre of the exposed surface. The gypsum appears to be principally of the grey foliated kind, containing some proportion of selenite. There can be no doubt that it lies upon the limestone; and from their

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that such slight change in situation may have taken place during this long interval of time. Herodotus says, that any thing falling into the pool, is carried under ground, and comes up again in the sea at the distance of about half a mile. I am not aware that this has been authenticated by any recent observation. Some account of the pitch-well of Zante is given in Vitruvius, lib. viii. cap. 3.

relation they may perhaps be considered as the first flœtz limestone, and flœtz gypsum of the Wernerian arrangement; an opinion which is further rendered probable from the presence of the shale beds and bituminous springs among these strata. The eminences to the north of the city of Zante, which form the beautiful scenery already described, seem to be composed of an argillaceous sandstone, containing probably some calcareous matter. These rocks rest also on the limestone of the island.

It is probable that few spots on the earth are more subject to earthquakes than this little isle. It is not a rare occurrence to have two or three in the month; and I am informed that in the summer of 1811, for thirty or forty successive days, it was usual to experience several shocks each day. The occasional violence of these earthquakes is testified by the breaches in the castle walls, and by cracks in different buildings of the city. Their sphere seems to be very limited, seldom extending beyond the isles in the vicinity, and some parts of the neighbouring continent; and occasionally, as it appears, still more entirely confined to this island. From the information I was able to collect here, the motion or sense of motion in these earthquakes is described to be more frequently that of undulation than of vibration or concussion; a mode of action which it is difficult to reconcile with any of the common agencies of physical force by impulse. It was further stated to me at Zante, and the statement is confirmed by the history of earthquakes elsewhere, that their occurrence is usually preceded by a peculiar state of the air; which some describe as a heaviness or oppressiveness; others with the stronger expression of a sulphureous atmosphere; and this, as it appears, independently of the season of the year. Another remarkable fact is, that they are generally followed by rain, a statement which I received on good authority as well at Zante as at Santa Maura, and on the continent of Albania*. It is not easy to account for such cir-

* I did not learn that the earthquakes here shew any particular connection with the occurrence of the Sirocco wind.

cumstances with the idea of a single local action; and were I to venture an opinion on the subject, I should think it much more probable that earthquakes are an electrical phenomenon; the effect of electrical movement and distribution, rather than the result of any direct chemical agency, as seems to have been generally surmised. That great electrical inequalities and changes do occur in the body of the earth is rendered by analogy very probable; and a reference to such changes will best explain the occasional extent of earthquakes, their more frequent occurrence in warm climates, the nature of the motion, and the atmospherical phenomena which precede and follow them. Fewer lights have yet been thrown on this subject than might perhaps have been expected from the general progress of science.

The commerce of Zante, as I have already stated, is maintained entirely by the produce of its plains. Currants, oil, and wine form the chief articles of export; of which the first is by far the most important, nearly two-thirds of the land in cultivation being occupied by the vine which produces this fruit. Its culture is carried on with much neatness; and in the month of June, when the flower is out, the aspect of the great vineyards on the plain becomes singularly rich and beautiful. The currants are gathered about the beginning of September, somewhat sooner than other grapes; they are spread abroad for eight or ten days; and are usually ready for packing by the end of September, or the beginning of October. The average annual produce of currants in Zante, for the last few years, has been upwards of 7,000,000 lbs.; the crop of 1812 was estimated at 8,000,000 lbs.; a large proportion of which quantity is exported to England, for the consumption of this country. As the imports into Zante are not large, a considerable part of the payment for cargoes of currants is made in specie, the transactions in which were formerly carried on through Leiste and Venice; but during the war have been in great measure transferred to Malta. The consumption of the article appears to have been increasing; and in 1809 it was calculated

that, of about 21,000,000lbs., the produce chiefly of Zante, Patras, Cephalonia, and Thrace, nearly 17,000,000lbs. were bought up for export before the end of September. The price of currants at Zante varies from 14*s.* to 18*s.* per cwt., exclusive of shipping expences. They have been reported somewhat inferior to the fruit of the Morea; but probably there is little real difference in quality. The new currants are always brought upon the dinner-tables at Zante, as a part of the dessert.

The produce of oil in Zante averages about 60,000 barrels every two years; that of wine is said to be 4,000 barrels, besides which there is a considerable export of oranges, lemons, &c. That the trade of the island is progressive may be inferred from the increase of the customs; which, if I rightly recollect, were farmed in 1813 for about 75,000 dollars; a much larger sum than they had been accustomed to produce. The English government of the isles has doubtless contributed to this prosperity.

The imports into Zante are small in colonial and manufactured articles, which, until lately, were chiefly supplied from Venice and other Italian ports; but now in great measure through Malta. The principal article of import, however, is corn; the supply of which from the island itself, is not nearly adequate to its consumption. I have heard it estimated, that about a third of the corn consumed was grown in the isle; another third obtained by the labours of the Zantiotes, who go over to the Morea to assist in the tillage and harvest; and the remaining third purchased with money from the same quarter. The vicinity of the Morea to Zante is further important, as affording a regular supply of cattle, poultry, and other articles for the consumption of the island. It may be noticed, that no English house is yet settled here, nor in any other of the Ionian Isles. Were such an establishment to be made, I should think it probable that the consumption of British goods might be increased by the more regular and various supply.

The population of Zante in its habits and manners, as well as in its costume and language, is intermediate between the Greek

and Italian character; a statement which may be extended generally to all the people of the Ionian Isles. The long dominion of the Venetians in these islands, and their constant commercial intercourse with them, has naturally produced this change on the original Greek population. Whether the influence has been altogether beneficial, may admit of some doubt; and here, as in other similar cases, it will perhaps be found that intermixture has impaired the unity and strength of the character, without adding to any of its moral or social virtues. Even though enjoying more civil liberty, the Greeks of the Seven Isles are in some respects inferior to those of the continent of Turkey; their exterior is less dignified, their manners more corrupt, and they shew less capability of again becoming a people. It would be too hasty a theory, however, to attribute this simply to admixture with strangers; since there have doubtless been other causes contributing to the effect. One principal cause must be admitted in the nature of the Venetian government; which, whatever may have been its merits at home, was certainly open to great abuses in its provincial administration. The governors and other officers sent to the islands, were usually of noble family, and often of decayed fortune; men who undertook the office as a speculation of interest, and executed it accordingly. Bribery, and every mode of illegal practice, were carried on openly; toleration for a crime might easily be purchased; and the laws, in many respects imperfect themselves, were rendered wholly null by the corruption of the judges. Under this faulty government, different factions arose in the islands. The petty insular aristocracy furnished individuals, who, by a more ample use of corruption, obtained local influence, and formed themselves into parties, which overawed the laws, and oppressed the people. These parties opposed each other, in some instances even by a sort of trifling warfare; murders were extremely frequent; and the general state of society was depraved and corrupt. I have heard it stated, on sure authority, that the number of assassinations in Zante has occasionally been more than one for each day in the year; a singular fact in a population of only forty thousand souls. At the same time,

literature made slow advances in the islands; and the refinements of social life were but partially known to their inhabitants.

In some respects the condition of Zante and the neighbouring isles has certainly been improved since the English occupied them. The factions, if not extinguished, are at least held in restraint; assassinations are now rare; and the laws are executed with greater fidelity. The state of society, however, is still on a low footing among this people. In the city of Zante, the largest in the isles, there are few families, who, from their habits or cultivation, are disposed to the better forms of social intercourse, or are capable of adopting them. The nobility of the isle, chiefly Counts of Venetian creation, though not inferior to those of the principal towns in Sicily, yet in general are men of little refinement; and in their modes of life scarcely equal to the middle classes of English society. It is common, indeed, to send their sons to Italy to reside and study there; but these young men, returning home, find no worthy object to engage their talents, or render their attainments useful, and soon relapse into the common routine of a Zantiote life.

Female society scarcely can be said to exist here. The ancient habits of the country still confine the women in great measure to their own houses, and equally limit their education to the most trifling and common-place attainments. There are, doubtless, some exceptions to this character, but it is accurate as respects the general population of the island. After all, it may be admitted, that this state of society is not much below that of Sicily, or even of greater communities in the south of Europe; where there are fewer circumstances to explain or excuse it, than in the small provincial population of the Seven Isles.

In matters of religion alone, their connection with Venice appears to have had little influence on the people of Zante. Their adherence to the Greek church is rigidly maintained; and though the Catholic worship is tolerated, and there is a Catholic establishment in the island: yet, it is obvious, that the feelings of the Greeks towards their brethren of the Latin church are by no means of a cordial kind.

I had the opportunity of marking this at a public dinner in the city, where the resident heads of the two churches were present, and where different toasts were given, that called forth some sentiment on the subject. The superior of the Greek church in Zante is the Protopapas Carrer*, — a venerable and pleasing old man, — who, in his office, is subordinate to a bishop, resident in Cephalonia. In the exercise of their religion, the people of the isles, not fettered like the Greeks of the continent, indulge themselves in all its exterior ceremonies; on a much smaller scale, indeed, than those of Catholic countries, but equally numerous and laboured in their details. In the early part of 1813, I was at Zante during a part of the carnival, and witnessed many of the processions, street-masquerades, &c. which take place during this time. A more pleasing spectacle was the festival of All-Saints, in the spring of the same year; celebrated among the olive-groves near the city, where half the population of the place was assembled in their best dresses, some walking, some dancing, others playing on the guitar, or forming a part in the religious processions; and various groupes dining under the shade of the olive trees, according to the custom of the day. I was in Zante also on Easter Sunday, the observance of which is rendered interesting by the interchange of visits, salutations, and paste-eggs, which takes place among all the inhabitants. Every greeting on this day is accompanied by the expression of Χριστὸς ἀνέστη; and there is a friendly and a common intercourse of all, well adapted to the occasion which calls it forth.

There are few public amusements of any kind in Zante. At the time I was there, the question was agitated, whether an opera might not be safely admitted into the city; and I heard various opinions on this subject among the principal inhabitants. The prevailing sentiment appeared adverse to it; and even many of those who did not object on the score of religion or morals, yet spoke of the evil of changing the ancient habits of the people; and especially of the female part of the community. The English garrison of the island occasionally gave balls

* All the priests under the Greek church being called *papas*, this title is equivalent to that of first priest.

and other entertainments, which, however, are only very partially frequented by the natives.

The language spoken in Zante and the other Ionian isles, is a dialect of the Romaic, much corrupted by its admixture with Italian words and phraseology. The effect of this admixture is often very ludicrous, or what might be even provoking to the scholar, who seeks in the modern Greek the remains of that language to which his early veneration has been given. Such expressions frequently occur as "*ta complimenta mou*;" "*o Kapitanos tou Brigantinou*," *&c.* Nevertheless, amidst all this corruption of dialect, and the further novelty which the pronunciation by accent gives to the ear, the stranger will speedily recognise, in the language of Zante, the basis from which it is derived, and will feel the singularity of listening to phrases from peasants and children in streets, which have hitherto been known to him only in the society of the learned, and the writings of former ages. He now hears the island spoken of under its ancient name of Zakynthos; the accent being laid on the first syllable of the word; and listens also to the name of Ithaca, familiarly employed by the inhabitants. Among the higher classes, however, the use of Italian seems to be more frequent than that of the Romaic, the Venetian dialect of that language being chiefly employed.

CHAP. II.

MODERN HISTORY OF THE IONIAN ISLES. — GREEK NEWSPAPERS. — GARRISON AT ZANTE. — CEPHALONIA: DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND. — ARGOSTOLI: ANTIQUITIES: POPULATION AND STATE OF SOCIETY. — ISLE OF CERIGO.

THE history of Zante is comprized generally in that of the Ionian Isles. The rapid decay of the eastern empire, and the active policy of the Venetians, during the period of the Crusades, threw the islands, together with various portions of the adjoining continent, into the hands of this enterprizing people, during the thirteenth century. Some parts of those acquisitions were afterwards permanently taken, and others occupied for a time by the Turks, when that nation was in the height of conquest and military power; but they did not long retain any of the Ionian Isles; and the dominion of the Venetians continued in this sea, with little interruption, for more than 300 years. In later times, the political situation of the isles has been much more fluctuating. The successes of the French in Italy, in the campaign of 1797, gave them, by the treaty of Campo Formio, this possession, together with others of the Venetian colonies. The various events succeeding in the Mediterranean, rendered the situation of the isles for two or three years very precarious and disturbed; and it was not till March 1801, that a settled form was given to their government, by a treaty between Russia and the Porte, in which these powers agreed to guarantee their existence as a distinct state, paying, however, a certain tribute to the Porte, under the name of "The Republic of the Seven Isles." The integrity of this Republic, consisting of the Isles of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa-Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, was further made an article between England and France in the treaty of Amiens. The small commonwealth, so constituted, had a population of about 200,000 souls; allied, indeed, by origin, language, and habits, but so divided from

their insular situation, that they could have no political efficiency, even under circumstances more favourable than the present condition of European politics and warfare. At the head of the Republic, the government of which was fixed at Corfu, was placed the Prince Commuto, a Zantiote nobleman, whose rank and integrity recommended him to a situation, which he filled with honour and propriety. The Prince, now advanced in years, resides at present in Zante, where his estates are situated, and maintains in private life the respect which formerly was given to his public situation.

The renewal of the war did not directly affect the Ionian Isles, but they could not long escape, in a contest which successively involved every part of Europe. The naval forces of Russia, with a few land troops, afforded them protection during the war, which terminated in the treaty of Tilsit; but by the terms of this treaty they were consigned over to the French empire, and immediately garrisoned by French troops. The government established in Corfu affected to give a certain degree of legislative freedom to the people, and to restore various usages of the ancient Greeks. The reckoning by Olympiads was to be renewed; Olympic games were to be celebrated at each period of four years; and iron medals to be distributed as prizes. These projects had a mighty aspect in the columns of the Moniteur, but this was all; and if they were designed to influence the minds of the continental Greeks, their effect was speedily lost in the train of succeeding events.

Early in 1810, a small English expedition left Sicily, under the command of General Oswald, destined to act against the Ionian Isles. Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo were taken almost without opposition. In Santa-Maura, the French garrison made a longer resistance, but was finally compelled to surrender. Corfu, and the small adjoining Isle of Paxo, alone remained in the French power; the garrison of the former being much stronger than the whole disposeable force in the captured isles, and our only offensive means therefore being a maritime blockade. In this state the affairs of the Ionian Isles continued from 1810 to the late peace; two islands being

subject to the French, under the immediate command of General Denzelot; the remaining five, which contain a population of nearly 140,000 souls, being under the protection of the English, with the title of "The Liberated Ionian Isles." At the time I am now writing, it is still uncertain how this little community will be disposed of, under the internal arrangements of the great powers of Europe. An independence, under the common guarantee of England, Russia, France, and Austria, would probably, on the whole, be the condition most favourable to the interests of the people.

While the islands continued under British government, considerable, perhaps too great, deference was paid to their ancient institutions. The Venetian laws were maintained, and their execution committed in each isle to four of the principal inhabitants, with a president, or *Capo del governo*, which office was always filled by the chief English military officer in the island. Corfu being possessed by the French, the seat of the general government, civil and military, was established at Zante; and hither were brought all appeals from the other isles, with a further reference to our authorities in Sicily, to which the command was still subordinate. At the time I was in the Ionian Isles, Major-General Airey held this command, and so fulfilled its duties as to merit and obtain the attachment of the population committed to his charge: he was succeeded in the spring of 1813 by General Campbell, who has remained in the islands since this period.

The English government, short as was its duration, has certainly been beneficial to the welfare of the isles: their commerce has experienced some increase; and the revenues, which were formerly abused to party purposes, have, during this time, been devoted to the internal improvement of the country, the repair of the fortifications, and the construction or improvement of roads. The police of the towns, in the different isles, has also been amended: assassinations, as I have before mentioned, rendered very uncommon; and the influence of factious parties much repressed. These evils may possibly again occur; but it is something to have shewn the possi-

bility and advantage of their removal. It might perhaps have been well, while retaining authority in the isles, had we done more, in establishing a college here, for the general education both of the insular and continental Greeks. Such an institution, the larger the scale of which the better, would have been honourable to ourselves, eminently useful to the Greeks, and of very beneficial influence to all our future relations with this people. The idea, however, has not been wholly neglected; a young Greek, who resided some years in London, and was well known under the name of Plato, having been sent out by government some time since, for the purpose of establishing a school in Zante. It may be apprehended, however, that the scale of their design is too small to answer all the purposes that might be effected in this valuable object.

An Italian newspaper formerly existed in Zante. While maintaining this, another was set on foot about two years ago, in the Romaic language, under the title of Ἐφημερὶς τῶν Ἰωνικῶν Ἐλευθερωμένων Νήσων, protected by the English, and under the immediate direction of an intelligent young man, of the name of Zervò, a native of Corfu: this paper is printed once or twice a-week, according to the supply of intelligence. The types, which were procured from Venice, are sufficiently good; and the general appearance of the paper neater and more correct than the Corfiote Gazette, under the French influence, to which it was opposed*. The style of the leading article, to employ an English phrase, is usually very good, and less corrupted by foreign idioms than is common in the application of the Romaic to modern European topics. By the suggestion of Sir W. Gell, the scheme of the paper has been extended to the report of intelligence from continental Greece; and a direct correspondence

* This Corfiote Gazette had a French translation appended to the Greek, and was circulated with assiduity through the Levant. A third Greek paper is printed at Vienna, called the Ἑλληνικὸς Τηλεγράφος, which seems to be conducted with some talent, and obtains circulation from the constant intercourse of the commercial Greeks with the Austrian dominions. A literary journal also has been established at Vienna, called the Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λογιος, under the direction of Anthimus Gazi, a literary Greek of some repute.

established with Athens, to supply information as to the pursuits of travellers and progress of discovery; thus giving the publication some value beyond that of a mere journal of passing events.

One of the principal Zantiotes of later times, is George Ventoti, who has given his countrymen, and the Greeks at large, a very valuable work, in his Λεξικον Τριγλωσσον; a dictionary of the Romaic, Italian, and French languages, in three volumes 4to., published at Vienna in 1790. He has also published a Romaic and French Grammar, and a History of America in four volumes. Ventoti, I believe, now resides in some situation at Vienna. Demetrius Gutzeli, another Zantiote, translated the Jerusalem Delivered, which translation was published at Vienna in 1807. *

The British garrison at Zante, when I was there, consisted of a few companies of the 35th regiment, companies of the Corsican rangers, and Calabrese corps, and the Greek light infantry. The 35th had remained in the islands since they were taken from the French; a fine regiment, and one that, from its long continuance in the Mediterranean, had acquired much adaptation to the manners of the south of Europe. Most of the children of the soldiers spoke Italian fluently; and many of the younger ones, the Greek dialect of the Zantiotes. The situation of this regiment in Zante was easy, and even luxurious; the climate fine; provisions, wine, fruit, &c. extremely cheap; and much good will existing between the soldiers and the natives. Their only extra service was the easy one of bearing a part in the religious processions of the Greek church. Besides the band of the regiment, two files of English soldiers might generally be seen with these processions; each man carrying in his hand a lighted taper, and fulfilling their parts with propriety and decency of manner. The contrast was striking in such cases between the open and full countenance of the Englishmen, and the more contracted, darker, and broader visages of the Greek religious

* This translation is made in the *versus politici*, a style which the usage of several centuries has sanctioned to the poets of modern Greece.

functionaries. The officers of the regiment partook in the same comforts as the men, complaining chiefly of the want of promotion; which was a consequence of their easy and unvarying life. They had not, however, much intimate society with the native families of Zante; the difference of manners precluding in great degree any other intercourse than that of general civility.

The Greek regiment afforded a singular spectacle at the time I first visited Zante. Nearly a thousand men, drawn chiefly from the Morea and Albania, many of them from the district of the ancient Lacedemon, were assembled together in their native dresses, somewhat such as I shall hereafter describe, in speaking of the Albanian soldiers. They were marshalled and disciplined according to our tactics; and, though not speaking a word of English, received the word of command in this unknown language. Their officers, three-fourths of which were Albanians or Moriotes, the remainder English, were already habited in a superb dress, copied in various parts from ancient costume. The men did not receive their uniform till some time afterwards, nor did their appearance gain much by the intermixture it afforded between the English and their own national dress. It is true indeed, that red was the military garb of the Spartans in old times, but the resemblance went little farther than to the colour of the ill-made jackets, which came out from England for this modern Greek regiment. The discipline of the men, when I saw them, was little advanced, and there seemed a singular inaptitude to acquire it; their appearance and movements were in all respects curiously rude and uncouth. The band had made greater advances than their countrymen in the ranks, and already performed our English airs with some degree of skill. The progress of the regiment was certainly much retarded by its vicinity to the Morea; which easily enabled those to desert who became weary of the service, and of a more correct discipline than was accordant with their former habits. Such desertions frequently occurred, and though the ranks were much replenished from the same source, yet the effect was obviously adverse to the welfare of the regiment. Soon after this

time, Achmet Pasha, successor to Veli Pasha in the Morea, did something, though from other motives, to check this evil, by executing eleven men who had deserted from Zante, and been taken by his soldiers in the Morea. Still it was thought desirable on various accounts to transfer the Greek regiment to Sicily; and they sailed from the isles with that destination in February 1813. It was supposed that there might be much reluctance to this measure; but the men were embarked without difficulty, and even testified some enthusiasm on the occasion.

It has since been attempted to raise another Greek regiment on the same footing; and had the war continued, this would have been effected. There was certainly some national policy in the measure, as connecting us more intimately with a people and country, which of late have again been brought within the compass of European politics; and to which future events may give much greater importance in the balance of European power.*

From Zante I made a short excursion to the neighbouring isle of Cephalonia, the largest of those in the Ionian Sea†. From the bay of Zante to the harbour of Argostoli, the capital of Cephalonia, is a distance of 30 miles. This port branches deeply into the island; and Argostoli, from its situation, is entirely shut out from the sea, forming a secure harbour, but difficult of egress when the wind is from any west or south quarter. On the same arm of the sea, but on the opposite side, and nearer to its mouth than

* We had the opportunity of seeing, while in Zante, the beautiful frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Phygalia, in the Morea; which had recently been brought here by the English and German gentlemen, who conjointly had discovered, and obtained it by excavation. It is gratifying to learn that this admirable example of antient art is finally to be brought to England.

† This excursion was made in February, 1813, after returning to Zante from my first journey on the continent of Turkey; but I have narrated it in this place, as being connected with what I have to say of the Ionian Isles.

Argostoli, stands the town of Lexouri, containing about 5,000 people. Argostoli itself is somewhat less populous, but is better built, and has been the seat of the insular government. The town stretches about a mile along the shore; a low ridge of hills rising behind, which intervene behind this branch of the gulph and the southern coast of the island; and derive a luxuriant aspect from the villages, olive-groves, and vineyards covering their declivity. The shore of the gulph opposite the town affords a different character; the ground ascending rapidly, or in some places even precipitously, towards the lofty chain of hills in the centre of the isle. The acclivity of these hills is scantily covered with soil, except in the hollows, or on the ledges they form in their ascent, where a village may here and there be seen in very singular situations; surrounded generally by vineyards and olive-trees. The remainder of the mountain surface is much exposed, and presents a peculiar aspect from the whiteness of the limestone of which it is composed. On the whole, the scenery about the gulph of Argostoli is of a very pleasing and remarkable kind.

Letters with which I had been favoured by General Airey and Mr. Foresti, procured me a very polite reception from Major Du Bosset, who then resided at Argostoli, as governor of the island. This gentleman is a native of Switzerland, but has been long attached to the British service in different situations, and is now Major in the regiment of De Rolle. At this time he had filled the office of commandant in Cephalonia for about two years, and had shewn remarkable activity in forwarding various schemes of internal improvement; some of which I shall speedily notice. By his assistance, I procured an excellent lodging in the family of Signore Metaxà, an *avocato* or lawyer by profession; who gave up to my use two large rooms, furnished in the Venetian style, and treated me with that profuse civility of manner, that exuberance of courteous phraseology, which can only be well apprehended by those who have travelled in Italy, or the Italian appendages in the south of Europe.

Cephalonia is about a hundred miles in circumference. The most striking feature in the general aspect of the island, is the great ridge called the Black Mountain; the height of which I should judge, from the distance at which it is seen, to be little less than 4,000 feet. It is the Mount Ænos of antiquity, mentioned by Strabo, as the loftiest point in the isle; and on its summit once stood an altar, dedicated to Jupiter Ænesius. I was assured in Cephalonia that some of the stones of this altar are yet to be found there; and, together with them, the bones of animals, which are supposed to have been the victims sacrificed on the spot. The name of the Black Mountain was obtained from the large pine-forests which once covered its acclivities; but during the disturbed state of the islands fifteen years ago, these forests, as it is said, were wantonly set on fire, and in great part destroyed; so that now the appearance of the mountain entirely contradicts its name. This is especially the case on its southern side; where the precipitous point, which rises by a single majestic elevation from the base to the summit, is broken by numerous deep gullies, displaying the white limestone rock of which the mountain is composed. The other hills, which stretch across the centre of the isle and occupy the greater part of its extent, are all connected in the same groupe with the Black Mountain. On a conical insulated hill to the south of this mountain, and five miles from Argostoli, stands the castle of St. George, of Venetian origin, and the strongest fortified point in the island: it was at this time garrisoned by three hundred Greek troops in our pay, forming the body called the Ionian Greek Infantry. The town of St. George is situated on the declivity of the hill, below the castle.

The island, in its present state, contains from 55,000 to 60,000 inhabitants. The most populous portion of it is that surrounding the gulph of Argostoli, and forming the boundary of the southern coast, underneath the Black Mountain: there is also a considerable population on the north-east coast, opposed to Ithaca; the district in which stood the ancient city of Samos. Though the extent of the island greatly exceeds that of Zante, its general fertility is much less,

the soil being for the most part scantily spread over the limestone rock of which the country consists. The property in land, too, is more divided than in the latter isle; the largest proprietor in Cephalonia not having a revenue of more than 800*l.* or 900*l.* per annum; while in Zante there are estates, which are said to be of more than double this value. The tenure of the land is for the most part annual; the tenant, by his agreement, paying to the landlord one half of the produce. The commerce of the island is considerable, though much less in proportion than that of Zante. The principal articles of export are currants, wine, and oil; the annual produce of currants being estimated at from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 lbs.; that of oil at a larger proportional amount. A considerable number of sheep and goats feed upon the high grounds of the island; but I heard nothing to corroborate the strange story of Ælian, that in Cephalonia the goats do not drink during six months of the year.*

Argostoli has already been noticed as the seat of government; but as its population does not exceed 4,000, the town possesses no peculiar importance in the isle. Its appearance has been improved, since the occupation of Cephalonia by the English; and the police greatly amended, so that the assassinations, which were before very frequent here, now scarcely ever occur. The peninsular site of Argostoli, between the gulph and the sea, was until lately a source of much inconvenience; the people coming to the town from other parts of the isle being obliged either to cross the gulph by an ill-regulated ferry, or to make a circuit round the shallow lagoons which form its upper extremity. Under the direction of Major Du Bosset, a causeway has been thrown across this arm of the sea, just above the town, of sufficient breadth to admit a carriage to pass; and firmly constructed of blocks of solid stone, without cement. This was a great undertaking; the length of the causeway exceeding 700 yards; and the water in many parts of the channel being six feet in depth. By

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Hist. Animal. lib. iii. 32.

a certain party in the island, the work has been regarded as one of doubtful utility; it being alleged that the upper end of the gulph will now become a stagnant pool, detrimental to the health of the people of Argostoli. Intermittent and remittent autumnal fevers were previously frequent in the place, depending, it is probable, upon the vicinity of these lagoons; but as there are many arches in the new causeway, for the passage of the waters, it does not seem that there is much ground for this additional alarm.

The roads in Cephalonia were formerly very bad: most of them little better than rugged mountain paths. The same active spirit in Major Du Bosset has led him to employ a certain part of the labour and revenue of the island in the construction of new roads; and this measure has been carried into effect with singular promptitude and success. The rocky nature of the surface has given facility to the work, by providing a firm substratum and an excellent material. The peasants by degrees became sensible to the advantage of these improvements; and in several instances came forward to volunteer their labours, and to solicit an extension of the roads to other districts of country. These works therefore have drawn less upon the revenue of the island than might be expected from their scale and completeness. The road beginning from the new causeway at Argostoli, and traversing the mountains in the centre of the isle, to the opposite coast near Samos, is the greatest undertaking of the kind. It had been executed, when I was in Cephalonia, so far as to be every-where perfectly passable for a carriage; and the journey from Argostoli to this coast, which formerly required eight or ten hours, might now be performed in little more than half the time. The road carried along the populous district of the southern coast might almost be compared with those of England, and is greatly superior to any I have seen in Portugal or Sicily.

It has been doubted, or rather indeed asserted, that these schemes of improvement in Cephalonia were too hasty in their origin; and on a scale disproportionate to the small revenues of the country. Such objections, however, are common in all similar cases; and I

have little hesitation in expressing my own belief, that the general effect of the plans, so actively carried forward here, will be greatly and permanently beneficial to the welfare of the island.

Major Du Bosset has farther been industrious in exploring the antiquities of Cephalonia, and has succeeded in bringing to light many curious facts on this subject. In ancient times the island contained four principal cities, Samos, Pali (which the last Philip of Macedon unsuccessfully besieged*), Krani, and Pronos. The site of Samos, a place often mentioned by Homer, and pertaining to the kingdom of Ulysses, exhibits still very extensive walls; and excavations among its ruins have afforded various specimens of ancient ornaments, medals, vases, and fragments of statues. The city of Krani stood on an eminence at the upper end of the gulph of Argostoli; and its walls may yet be traced nearly in their whole circumference, which, from the observations I made, I conceive to be almost two miles. On the north-east side, where they follow the summit of a steep ascent, they are built with the greatest regularity, and shew the remains of a gateway, and several towers. The structure is that usually called Cyclopian, and which was employed in the earliest times of Greece; vast oblong blocks of stone set upon each other, and nicely fitted together without cement. In a road which leads from the eminences of Krani to the plain, at the head of the gulph, I observed the deep traces of wheel-carriages worn in the rock, like those near to the Latomies at Syracuse. In a cliff, which bounds the same road, is an excavation, probably intended as a sepulchre, and surmounted by a Greek inscription on the rock, now legible only in a few of its letters: other vestiges of the ancient population occur in this vicinity. Between the castle of St. George and the village of Metaxata, five miles from Argostoli, there are large catacombs, nine or ten of which have lately been opened, so as to display the curious excavation of tombs in the loose calcareous rock which occurs at this place. Some of the caverns are distinct, others connected

* See Polyb. lib. v.

together. There is likewise much variety in the number and arrangement of the tombs in each; some containing only six, others as many as sixteen, regularly disposed. Major Du Bosset has a considerable collection of sepulchral urns, inscriptions, &c., found as well in these catacombs as in other parts of Cephalonia*. This gentleman has also explored the remains of Pronos, and ascertained various facts regarding an ancient temple which stood on the eastern coast of the island, near to the sea, and which until this time had never been examined. An account of this observation was published in the Zante Ephemeris, an extract of which I have given in the Appendix. The coins of all the four cities of Cephalonia are well known, and may be found in various cabinets of medals.†

The more modern history of Cephalonia nearly corresponds with that of Zante; and its population, as might be expected, presents most of the same general features. In some points, however, there are shades of difference. The Cephaloniotes being less wealthy, are more enterprizing than the natives of Zante; and by their quickness and activity have long obtained distinction among the other people of the Levant. The young men of the island, wherever means can be afforded, are sent to Italy, generally with the view of studying law or physic, the professions to which they principally attach themselves. Only a certain number return to settle in Cephalonia; the remainder either procuring situations in Italy, or migrating to various parts of the Levant for the purpose of seeking employment. Medicine is on the whole the favourite object of pursuit; and it is probable that from no equal amount of population in the world, are so many physicians produced as from that upon the small isle of Cephalonia. There is scarcely a large town in European Turkey,

* Among the bones found in these catacombs, I saw two, an *os femoris*, and *tibia*, which had been fractured during life. If the manner of union in these bones might be taken as evidence, they would not greatly accredit the skill of the ancient Cephaloniote surgeons.

† Petrus Maurocenus, a Venetian senator, published, in the seventeenth century, an account of the antiquities of Cephalonia.

where one or more Cephaloniotes may not be found engaged in medical practice, and pursuing their fortunes with an assiduity, which is generally successful in as far as circumstances render it possible; it is said to be a common prayer of the *sages femmes* of the island, when a female child is born, "that she may be happy and have a physician for her husband." There is a similarity among all these islanders, in whatsoever situation they are found, which cannot fail to strike the attention of the traveller. They are generally quick and ingenious in their conceptions; adroit, as well as active, in their affairs; in their manner, bustling, loquacious, and verbose; and with a temper disposed to litigation and intrigue. When you talk to a Cephaloniote, you find him argumentative, yet insinuating, dealing much in moral truisms; which, though given with form and gravity, obviously mean very little from the mind. As a natural effect of their character, petty feuds are very common in the island; and an ample provision is made at home for most of the young lawyers who come from the Italian schools. In Cephalonia, as in Zante, the corrupt feebleness of the Venetian government allowed the formation of parties, which usually had their origin in personal broils, and were prosecuted therefore with extreme asperity, and with manifest ill effect on the condition of the people. The petty aristocracy of Cephaloniote Counts, who are the chief proprietors in the island, were also the principal agents in these feuds. Most of these men have been educated in Italy; but coming home without profession or employment, their trifling rank becomes hurtful to their future character, and they waste in the form of intrigue that active talent which is habitual to the natives of the island. This party spirit in the higher classes, and the evils it entailed upon their dependents, have been checked by the English government in Cephalonia; but it may be feared that the influence will be one of short duration only.

The society at Argostoli, independently of these feuds, is not without its merits; comprizing many persons who are agreeable, both from their manners and acquirements. I was introduced by Major Du Bosset to the two principal physicians of the place,

whom I found intelligent men, both of them educated in Italy, and well-informed in their profession *. At the house of my host Metaxà, I saw some specimens of the Cephaloniote lawyers, which did not equally interest me in their favour. The priests in the island, though very numerous, are inferior in respectability to both the former classes. They are generally taken from a lower rank in society, and their education is of a very limited kind; a circumstance not peculiar to this island, but common to the other isles, and to the continent of Greece. In Cephalonia, two papas or priests were for some time very active in opposing the schemes of improvement which have lately been carried on there. It is a curious instance of their tendency to resist innovation, that when Major Du Bosset wished to introduce the culture of the potatoe, many of these men laboured to convince the peasants, that this was the very apple with which the serpent seduced Adam and Eve in Paradise. Unfortunately the potatoe experienced a more serious obstacle in two successive bad seasons, and in the necessity which was found for renewing the sets from England at the expiration of this period.

The only Cephaloniote priest with whom I had much intercourse, was a deacon of the island, a respectable man, and a great proficient in music. He is very solicitous to be an agent in reforming the music of the modern Greeks, and gave me some compositions of his own, chiefly sacred; in which, though retaining the notation of his country, he asserted that he had made considerable improvement in the style.

Cephalonia has produced several authors in the Romaic language. The Πετρα Σκανδαλω, a curious treatise on the schism of the eastern and western churches, was written by the Bishop Maniati of this island. Among the modern Greek writers, may be mentioned Spiridion

* From one of these physicians I obtained a manuscript treatise on the poisonous quality of the *atractylis gummifera*, which grows in the island. A melancholy instance of its effects had occurred some time before in the village of Lachitra.

Asani of Cephalonia; whose principal work is a translation of Father Grandi's Synopsis of Conic Sections, published at Vienna in 1802.

The government in Cephalonia, during our possession of it, was constituted as in Zante, by a council of five persons, of which the British commandant was the president; and by an administrative body, consisting here of sixty persons. All appeals from these insular authorities were transferred to the general government at Zante.

The hills about the gulph of Argostoli, and probably the mountains in general of Cephalonia, are composed of a calcareous rock; which in some places has the appearance of primitive limestone, but which I take rather to be one of those varieties of coralline limestone, that often present a semi-crystalline aspect. I did not observe, however, any distinct vestiges of organic remains, except in some strata, forming a part of the ridge to the south of Argostoli, on which stands the picturesque village of Lachitra. This limestone, which contains a considerable abundance of shells, appears to lie upon the rock before-mentioned. I learn that it is found also in other parts of the island. Major Du Bosset spoke to me of a sandstone occurring to the south of Argostoli; which I did not see, but conjecture to be the same as that found to the north of the city of Zante.

Cephalonia affords considerable materials for the botanist, and in the Appendix will be found a catalogue of most of the officinal plants which are met with in the island. That species of oak (the *quercus ægilops*) which produces the Valani, or Valonia, grows to some extent here, as well as in other parts of Greece, and the isles. The use of this acorn in dying is known, as well in the east as in our own country.

While in Zante, after my return from Greece, I was on the point of visiting Cerigo, the most southerly of the Ionian Isles, and separated from the rest by the intervention of the Morea; but was prevented by the long continuance of south-east winds, which

make it difficult or impossible to get round Cape Matapan. A few statistical facts, however, which I obtained respecting this isle, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

The circumference of Cerigo is between 50 and 60 miles. Though celebrated as the ancient Cythera, and the birth-place of Helen, its present aspect is rocky and sterile; and the number of inhabitants does not exceed nine thousand. Of this number, 165 are priests; and there are said to be not fewer than 260 churches or chapels of different descriptions in the island. The state of education among the natives is on a very low footing: there is indeed one school, supported by public funds, and others of private establishment, but they are ill conducted; and, as a proof of this, it is said, that the inspector of the public school can neither read nor write. The chief products of Cerigo are corn, oil, wine, raisins, honey, and wax; some cotton and flax also are grown upon the island; and there is a considerable produce of cheese from the milk of the goats, which feed over its rocky surface. It is estimated that, in the year 1811, there were 16,000 sheep and goats in the island, about 1,300 horses, and 2,500 oxen. The number of bee-hives the same year was reckoned at 1,280, producing a honey of very good quality.

The only modern literary character from Cerigo, of whom I have heard, is Spiridion Vlandi, the author of a translation of Cornelius Nepos into the Romaic; of a prose translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses; of an Italian and Romaic Lexicon, published in 4to. at Venice in 1806; and of a translation of the Magazin des Enfans, which has already gone through some editions. I have already spoken of two or three authors, natives of Zante or Cephalonia; and may mention as another eminent literary Greek of the Ionian Isles, the Archbishop Nicephorus Theotoki, who was born in Corfu, and died 14 years ago. His principal work was the Στοιχεῖα Μαθηματικά; the materials collected from ancient and modern authors, and published at Moscow in 1799, under the patronage and at the expence of the Greek family of the Zosimades. He wrote also a

work on Natural Philosophy, published at Leipsic in 1766; a book of geography for schools; an answer to Voltaire, in defence of revealed religion; with several other publications of smaller importance. A valuable little work was printed at Corfu four years ago, containing a general scheme of instruction for the youth of Greece, with references to many of the more valuable works in the modern Greek language. *

Some writers have described Cerigo as a volcanic country, with many extinct craters. I should venture to doubt the accuracy of this; as all the other accounts I have received, concur in speaking of the limestone-rock of the island; which is stated to be worn into large caves, and to exhibit very beautiful stalactitic appearances. If it should be the case that any part of Cerigo is volcanic, its productions would probably have some analogy to those of the volcanic isle of Santorin, from which it is not far distant. I never heard of any obsidian being found here; a substance which is likely to attract attention by its aspect.

Cerigo, while in our possession, was garrisoned by a company of the 35th regiment. It was a solitary station, and perhaps the individuals of this little band might think it a poor recompense, that they had on one side of them the mountains of Lacedemon; on the other, though at a greater distance, the shores of the ancient Crete. Unfortunately, the piratical character of the Mainotes, who inhabit the opposite coast of the Morea, prevented any free communication with the continent; and the garrison of Cerigo saw but as an object of landscape, that ground which lay before them, so venerable from the history of former ages.

* Φιλοπαιδια των νυν Γραικων, υπερ Κωνσταντινου Δελλα.

CHAP. III.

DEPARTURE FOR ALBANIA. — SIROCCO WIND. — ITHACA: MODERN STATE OF THIS ISLAND. — VATHI. — SANTA-MAURA: ISLAND AND TOWN: COMMERCE AND ANTIQUITIES.

IT had been our first design to proceed from Zante directly to Athens, taking a route across the Morea. We were induced to alter this plan by the desire of visiting the singular court of Ali-Pasha, the vizier of Albania; the outline of which was already known to me through the stanzas of Childe Harold. It was natural to wish for all the details of such an outline, and to seek the occasion of surveying a military despotism, recently erected into a sort of independence, and lording it over some of the finest parts of ancient Greece. We decided therefore upon taking a direct route to Ioannina, the capital of this new power; a determination which, in its event, changed all the plan of our journey through Greece.

We had with us, in setting out from Zante, a Greek servant, a native of this island. Demetrius was a young man, who already had twice been to Athens with English travellers, and sufficiently understood all the methods of Turkish travelling; but who unluckily spoke little more Italian than we at this time could of Romaic, and therefore lost much of his value as an interpreter. A Greek servant is, however, indispensable in Turkey; and in the Ionian Isles may generally be found a number who are ready to take this office, and especially if it be a *Milordos* who requires their services. The English traveller, to whom this curiously derived epithet belongs, has been found, not only the most frequent visitant of Greece, but also the wealthiest and the most punctual in his payments, and is esteemed accordingly. These *Semi-Greeks* of the isles are in some points well fitted for servants, being quick and lively, commonly speaking Italian, and

being familiar in part with the usages of the west of Europe. The active and bustling importance they assume in this situation is very amusing. Demetrius had not been half a day in our service, before he had gone through every article in all our packages, asking the keys for this purpose with a simple conciseness which scarcely admitted of refusal. A Zantiote, who attended me in my second journey through Albania, was still more remarkable in the use of his high prerogative; and in all the minor circumstances of travelling I was obliged to submit myself in great part to his assumed power. It would be well if honesty were always the associate of these qualities, to which, in truth, it seems in some sort allied; but the character of the Zantiote servants has never had much repute on this score; and it behoves the traveller to be careful in a selection, which will much influence the comfort of his journey.

We sailed from Zante on the 22d of October in an armed row-boat, well known in the Mediterranean under the name of a Scampavia. We selected this vessel, from its having a destination in the first place to Ithaca, with money for the payment of the small garrison of that isle; and afterwards to Santa-Maura, the island which most nearly adjoins the continent of Albania. Besides the crew of the Scampavia, we had on board English, Corsican, and Calabrian soldiers, and two Capuchin friars, who were just come over from Malta, to establish a school in Santa-Maura. The distance from Zante to the port of Ithaca is about 40 miles, in a north direction. The day was sultry, and without a breath of wind; and the oars of the boatmen carried us tardily along the mountainous eastern coast of Cephalonia, formed by ridges of limestone-hill which descend steeply to the sea. The manner of rowing the large boats in these seas is very different from ours; the men standing up, with their faces towards the head of the vessel, and making the stroke from the chest, instead of to it, as is our custom. The direct individual force gained in this way appears to be less; but it is perhaps as well adapted to large boats, such as the Sparonara and Scampavia, where a number of men and oars are required.

A profound calm continued till six in the evening. At this time a sudden and violent Sirocco came on from the south-east, carrying our vessel forwards eight or ten miles an hour; but bringing with it, at the same time, all the distressing effects which characterize this extraordinary wind; a sense of general oppression, a dull head-ache, aversion to motion, and lassitude and uneasiness in the limbs. Those who are strongly susceptible to electrical changes in the air, such as precede and attend a thunder-storm, will easily understand the effects of the Sirocco, as an increased degree of the sensations which they then experience: and, in fact, though I am not aware that the opinion has been held, there are many reasons for believing that the peculiarity of the Sirocco wind is chiefly an electrical one, and not depending either on temperature, an undue proportion of carbonic acid*, the presence of minute particles of sand, or any of the causes which have been generally assigned to it. That increased temperature is not the cause, may be inferred from the thermometer being little, if at all raised, by the access of the wind, and from much greater heat often occuring without this singularity of effect. The air of the Sirocco, as it comes from the sea, is not a dry one, but in general thick, and loaded with moisture; much of which appears to be deposited where it passes over any considerable extent of land. I have scarcely, in any instance, observed this wind, in any marked degree, without noticing at the same time some electrical phenomena in connection with it; to say nothing of the effects upon the body, which as mere sensations may perhaps be doubtfully received in evidence. In the present instance, off the coast of Ithaca; the sky, which had been obscured by the approach of evening, was suddenly kindled, as the wind came on, by broad flashes or gleams of electric light, which seemed to pervade the whole hemisphere, and at intervals were so

* Dolomieu, to his "*Memoire sur les Isles Ponces*," has adjoined a short treatise on the climate of Malta, and the Sirocco wind, in which he relates some eudiometrical experiments with nitrous gas, which, if accurately made, seem to indicate that the atmosphere of the Sirocco contains less oxygene than the ordinary air.

bright as to allow the reading of the smallest print. At the same time, I observed a mass of clouds gathering in the north-west, the quarter to which the wind was blowing; and here the electrical appearances became peculiarly vivid, flashes of light shifting rapidly among the broken intervals of the clouds and near the horizon, assuming at times the appearance of a chain of light, which seemed to pass from a higher to a lower surface of cloud, and often continued to the eye for two or three seconds. I had before observed similar phenomena, when at Santo Stephano, on the northern coast of Sicily; and there, as here, taking place with a south-east or Sirocco wind, and producing clouds in the opposite point of the compass.*

* These phenomena, which I witnessed at midnight, on the 13th of September, were very striking. The day preceding had been close and sultry: the thermometer at three o'clock P.M. 87° or 88°, and without a breath of wind until four P.M., when it blew from the south-south-east, with some heavy clouds and a stormy aspect of sky. At eight P.M. there was some lightning in the north-west, and the clouds gathered in this quarter. Towards midnight, the appearances became very extraordinary: the moon had gone down, but there was a general blaze of light through the hemisphere; and especially in the north-west horizon, where the flashes of lightning succeeded each other with wonderful rapidity and vividness. The sky on the whole was clear, except in this quarter, where a mass of cloud hung upon the horizon, leaving an interval, however, of 4° or 5°, and stretching upwards, as it appeared, nearly 30° towards the zenith: its outline was ragged and irregular, like that often presented by a thunder-cloud. The phenomena were briefly the following: — For two or three minutes there was an almost unceasing succession of flashes among different parts of the cloud; the shifting and intermingling of which, and the lights they threw on the sea and Æolian Isles beneath, afforded a spectacle of the most splendid kind. After these appearances had continued thus long, a chain or cord of electric matter (not a flash) appeared to shoot from the cloud to the sea, across the interval already mentioned, and in a direction perpendicular to the horizon: this was not a momentary phenomenon, but continued sometimes, as I think, for nearly four seconds: the light of the chain was most vivid, and its edges distinctly defined; generally it shot down nearly at the same place, but I could not distinctly perceive any point of descending cloud, which determined this. No thunder attended these appearances.

I watched the phenomena for two hours, being at sea during this time in an open boat. It seldom happened that five minutes elapsed without a discharge of the kind

These appearances, and other characters of the Sirocco wind, may, I think, be best explained under the idea, that it derives its properties from an atmosphere highly charged with electricity. Much, however, is yet wanting to an accurate knowledge of the subject; and it would be desirable to obtain a regular series of observations, which might exhibit its effects on the barometer and thermometer, as well as describe the external phenomena attending it, the frequency and period of its occurrence, and its local distribution. I made, in two or three instances, hygrometrical observations by evaporation from the bulb of the thermometer, and found the quantity of moisture in the air to be very great; but this was always in places where the wind was blowing directly from the sea, or with little intervening land; and it would be requisite to have a series of such remarks made regularly, and in various situations *. Corresponding observations with the electrometer should also be given; and it might be well to examine the air eudiometrically. I venture to suggest these desiderata to the attention of those who may be resident in the Mediterranean, and disposed to examine objects of this nature. I may add further, that considering Malta as one of the best stations for such inquiry, I have

described; its occurrence being generally preceded by an unusal rapidity and brightness of the flashes in the clouds; and followed by a longer interval of darkness; as if the electric matter required to accumulate again, before it was in sufficient quantity to renew these appearances. The thermometer during this time stood at about 70°.

At three in the morning a violent gust of wind came on from the east, with thick clouds, some thunder, and heavy rain; and the thermometer fell some degrees. During the following day, the wind blew strongly from the same quarter; and in the evening a mass of dark clouds appeared again in the west; not affording, however, the appearances of the preceding night, but those of a common storm of thunder and lightning.

* I have generally observed the Sirocco to be followed, or perhaps it may be said to go off, with rain. This, in its analogy to the occurrence of the common thunder storm, may be admitted as another presumption of the electrical nature of the phenomenon. The Sirocco, modified in degree and frequency, may be considered to exist in every climate: its peculiarity in the Mediterranean admits of plausible explanation from the vicinity and singular character of the great continent of Africa.

sent some queries to a friend there, which I trust may procure me some further information on the subject.

The Sirocco carried us rapidly forwards to the entrance of the great port of Ithaca. The night was now far advanced; but the character of the sky at this time, and the moon, which had newly risen, gave a fine effect of light and shade to the steep and naked limestone cliffs which girt the ancient kingdom of Ulysses. Whatever sarcasms be thrown upon the smallness and ruggedness of this celebrated isle, admiration must ever be given to the spectacle of its port; a deep gulph, which, from its eastern coast, very nearly traverses the whole breadth of the island, branching out into arms and bays, which are sheltered by lofty hills and promontories of rock. The town of Vathi, the capital of the modern Ithaca, stands at the upper extremity of one of these deep inlets, separated from all view of the sea, and deriving a singular aspect of seclusion from the mountains which seem on every side to surround it.

We landed here a little before midnight. All the Ithacans were slumbering: the commandant had gone to rest, and was not to be disturbed; and we wandered about the street in disconsolate mood, ignorant where we might obtain a lodging. A light, and the sound of billiard balls, at length drew us to a building, where we found two or three persons (not the suitors of ancient time) occupied with great intentness in this midnight sport. A young man, one of the number, accosted us with much politeness; and learning our situation, very courteously invited us to his house. We accepted the offer, and had every reason to be satisfied with this accidental meeting. Our host, Fioravante Zavò, we found to be of one of the principal families of Ithaca, and the possessor of an independent property in the island. He insisted on our remaining at his house during our stay here; and treated us with an attentive hospitality, which took away all irksomeness from the obligation, and made our residence extremely agreeable.

Ithaca is certainly a very interesting island; and it has been for-

tunate in the justice done to it by the learned and accurate work of Sir W. Gell. Following such a work, I shall not enter into details either as to the scenery or antiquities of the isle; contenting myself with a brief sketch of the observations I made on its general character, during this, and a subsequent visit in 1813.*

The extreme length of Ithaca from north to south is 17 miles; its greatest breadth does not exceed four; and at its north extremity, as well as in the centre of the island, where the great port traverses it, does not exceed half a mile. It may be regarded in fact, as a single narrow ridge of limestone rock, every-where rising into rugged eminences, of which the loftiest are the mountains of Stephano and Neritos: the former in the south part of the isle, and ascending from the shores of the bay of Vathi; the latter on the northern side of the great port. It can scarcely be said that there are a hundred yards of continuous level ground in the island; and the general aspect must be confessed to be one of ruggedness and asperity, warranting the expression of Cicero, that Ulysses loved his country, "*non quia larga, sed quia sua.*" Nevertheless, the scenery is rendered striking by the bold and broken outline of mountains, promontories, and bays; and there are points in Ithaca where it is even pleasing, in the cultivated declivity of the ridges, and the opening out of the narrow vallies towards the sea, wooded with olives, orange, and almond trees, or covered with vineyards. The upper part of the bay of Vathi, and a valley at the upper extremity of the port, have this softened character, which belongs also to several other spots in the southern part of the island.

The limestone of Ithaca resembles that of Cephalonia, exhibiting in various places a somewhat coralline appearance, but no evidence of its belonging to a primitive formation. The stratification of this rock is seen very beautifully in the cliffs which border on the great port, particularly near the small bay called Dexia, where the strata

* I may remark, that the plates in Sir W. Gell's work afford, from their peculiar style, an admirable and perfect idea of the scenery of Ithaca.

are highly inclined. A cavern, which appears in them at the head of this bay, has been regarded as the grotto of the Naiads, where Homer represents Ulysses to have been carried by the Phæacian sailors, and laid down while asleep*. The rock of Ithaca is everywhere near the surface; and in most of the hills of the island exposed to the eye in large rugged masses, with a very scanty vegetation between. There are other places, however, where the rocks are entirely covered with the prickly-leaved or Valonia oak, the arbutus, myrtle, and other shrubs.

The present population of Ithaca is estimated at between seven and eight thousand; including in this statement the inhabitants of Kalamo, Atako, Kasto, and other small isles near its eastern coast. The principal article of produce is currants, of which nearly 5,000 cwt. forms the average annual export from the island. A small quantity of oil and wine are also exported; the latter being reputed generally the best wine of the isles. It is in appearance and flavour something intermediate between port and claret; nor is it customary to impregnate it with turpentine, as is done with the wines of continental Greece. The produce of grain in Ithaca scarcely suffices for a quarter of the year's consumption; but the natives are enabled to supply themselves from the continent, partly by their profits in the currant trade; still more perhaps by their activity in maritime affairs, which forms a singular feature in the population of this little island. The vessels belonging to the port of Vathi are very numerous, and many of them of sufficient size, not only to carry on the small coasting commerce of the island, but also to partake in the general carrying trade of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Some curious instances are given of the eagerness of the Ithacans to embark in enterprizes of this nature.

The town of Vathi contains about 2,000 inhabitants. The appearance of the place is picturesque in approach, and does not disappoint the stranger when entering within it: it consists of a single street,

* Odyss. lib. xiii. 96.

extending more than a mile along the shore, and containing many good houses, almost all of them built of stone, and some of considerable size. A few insulated buildings are scattered over the rising ground behind the town, and surrounded by trees. Several new houses have lately been erected in the place; a circumstance, however, which does not prove an increase of population, as it is chiefly at the expence of the old town of Perachora, situated inconveniently on one of the ascending ridges of Mount Stephano. There are a few other small towns or villages in the island, of which Oxsai and Leuka are perhaps the most considerable.

The population of Vathi comprizes most of the proprietors of Ithaca, as well as those who are more particularly engaged in trade. The family of Zavò, including several branches, is one of the most wealthy and important in the isle. We met at the house of our host a member of this family, who is the physician of the place, a loquacious but intelligent man, and very desirous of obtaining information both as to the science and politics of modern Europe. There was much pleasure, and at the same time singularity, in gratifying such a feeling in such a spot. We had the opportunity of seeing two or three others of the inhabitants of the place, who appeared respectable and well informed.

Since Ithaca came into our possession, it has been garrisoned by a company of the Corsican Rangers; and the commandant at this time was a captain of the same regiment, a native, I believe, of Ajaccio in Corsica. It was a singular combination of circumstances, to see a fellow-townsman of Napoleon representing the English authority in the ancient kingdom of Ulysses. We found at Vathi an English surgeon of the 35th regiment, and his lady, who had been resident here for some months. They complained much of the solitariness and uniformity of the place.

I was interested, in walking through the streets of Vathi, by the spectacle of an Ithacan school; the preceptor, or *Didaskalos*, a venerable old man, with a long beard, who sat before his door, giving instruction to a circle of fifteen or twenty boys, each with a modern

Greek version of the New Testament in his hand. It was amusing to hear sounds familiar to the ear from the Greek of Homer and Thucydides, shouted out by ragged striplings, many of them not more than seven or eight years of age. The old schoolmaster was pleased with the attention given to himself and his scholars, and endeavoured to rouse them to greater efforts of display; which here, as with boys every-where else, had simply the effect of producing more loudness of speech.

The name of Ulysses, in its original, is not unknown among the number of modern names in Greece. One of the soldiers of Ali Pasha, whom I afterwards saw at Ioannina, celebrated for his extraordinary fleetness in running, was called *Odyssephs*; a word very different indeed in sound from that which our English pronunciation gives, but written in Romaic exactly as the ancient name of the hero.

The identity of the island I am now describing, with the Ithaca of Homer, may be considered, I think, as decisively ascertained. For a long time, indeed, the Venetian name of Val di Compare, and the less frequent excursions of travellers to this coast, had the effect of concealing the real name of the isle; and while called Ithaca by its natives and the Greeks at large*, the conjectures of scholars were still exercised as to the situation and character of this celebrated spot. More accurate local enquiry has discovered the truth; and in the name of the island; in its relative situation to Cephalonia, Leucadia, and the opposite continent of Greece; and in the medals discovered here, we have sufficient testimony that this is really the Ithaca intended in the poem of Homer.†

Another train of evidence as to the fact, has been derived from the internal features of the island itself, and from the remains actually

* The word *Theaki* will frequently be heard as a corruption of the proper name of Ithaca; but chiefly among the lower classes.

† A mere glance at the catalogue in the second book of the Iliad, (v. 631. et seq.) will satisfy the reader as to the fact of the general position. More detailed proofs might be drawn from various parts of the Odyssey.

existing here; and this part of the subject is pursued with great ingenuity in the work of Sir W. Gell, to which I have already referred. In the course of two short visits to Ithaca, I examined most of the objects which are supposed to have relation to the ancient history of the isle, or the narrative of the poet. The most interesting of these are the ruins at Aito, often known by the name of the Castle of Ulysses, situated on the narrow isthmus which intervenes between the great port and the channel of Cephalonia. At the southern extremity of this isthmus, the ground ascends by a moderate acclivity from each sea, to an elevation of about 200 feet; but to the north of this hollow, the isthmus rises into a rugged and lofty chain of hills, on the acclivity and summit of which appear the ruins just alluded to. On the ascent of the hill, which is thickly covered with brush-wood, they are found as the remains of walls, forming different lines of enclosure, and testifying the greatest antiquity in the rude structure of massive stones which compose them. Towards the summit of the hill, which may be about 400 feet above the sea, these walls become larger, and take a more definite form; and the situation of two or three gates is distinctly marked. Some of the walls appear to have been designed to support levels on the declivity, for the purposes of building; others simply as fortifications of the place. The summit of the hill is interesting in the exhibition of a more regular area, with the remains of two large subterranean cisterns, and some appearances of an ancient tower: the view from this spot is one equally singular and magnificent. Standing on a narrow ridge between two seas, you have, on one side, the channel and mountainous coast of Cephalonia; on the other, the great port of Ithaca, with its various branches; in the distance, the Leucadian promontory, the mountains of Epirus and Acarnania, and numerous other objects of classical fame. The bay of Samos, and the site of the old city of that name, are very distinctly seen on the opposite coast of Cephalonia, the place whence came four and twenty of the suitors to Penelope.

These ruins are supposed, and I believe with reason, to testify the site of an ancient city; once, doubtless, the capital of the island. The steepness and elevation of the hill cannot be considered an objection to this idea; since the ruins of Mycenæ, of Eleuthera, and other ancient cities, exhibit a similar position, adopted with a view to the better means of defence. The extent of the walls, the form of the areas they include, and the scattered vestiges of antient buildings, furnish an almost positive evidence in support of the opinion. Further confirmation has lately been afforded by the discovery of numerous sepulchres, at the place where the hill begins to rise from the hollow before-described, between the two seas. The opening and examination of these sepulchres have been attended with singular success. Besides the discovery of various bronze figures, utensils, and ornaments, of vases, lacrymalia, &c., there have been found here a number of gold ornaments, rings, bracelets, chains, and decorations for the head, most of them of very beautiful and delicate workmanship. I have seen one of these gold rings, which was actually taken from the finger of a skeleton found in one of the tombs. Some Ithacan medals also have been met with here; and several marbles, with sepulchral inscriptions upon them*. Of the date of these tombs, no authentic conjecture can be formed; but, though it may be presumed that the city existed here at the time, it is not certain, or even probable, that they can be given to a period so early as what may be called the *classical age* of Ithaca. Since my return to England, I have learnt that the research among the sepulchres has been continued, and with the same successful results. The sole excavator is the Captain-commandant of the isle, who appears in

* Of these medals I only saw one, which had the accustomed head of Ulysses, with the conical cap; on the reverse, the figure of a cock, and the word ιθακων. The sepulchral inscriptions I copied; but unfortunately have lost them. I may say from general recollection of the style of letter, &c. that they did not appear to me of the most remote antiquity. A vast number of bones are found in these sepulchres; the *cancelli* in many of them as minutely perfect, as if they had been in the ground only a few months.

this instance to have exercised a monopoly, to which it is doubtful how far he was entitled.

Near the place of the sepulchres, and at the foot of the hill, is a well of clear water, conjectured to be the fountain which Homer mentions as frequented by the people of the city, and the domestics of the palace of Ulysses *. Admitting thus far the local application of the poet's narrative, we might perhaps venture to surmise that the palace itself occupied the summit of the hill above, forming a citadel to the town on the declivity; but conjecture is here thrown abroad by the remoteness of the time, and uncertainty as to the actual intention and knowledge of the poet.†

On the eastern coast, and near the southern extremity of the isle, is a perpendicular cliff; from the foot of which, a valley or hollow, covered with small shrubs, descends by a rapid declivity to the shore. In a recess on this declivity is a fountain; and when it is mentioned that the name of the cliff is Koraka, it will scarcely fail to occur to the reader, that this may be the rock Korax of the Odyssey; the fountain, that of Arethusa; and this secluded and picturesque spot, the place where Ulysses is represented to have met the faithful Eumæus‡. All this presumes a very minute local knowledge in the poet; but such a knowledge it is fair to suppose that he possessed. Homer had probably visited Ithaca; some have even considered him a native of the island; and it may readily be believed that he would select his localities from nature, and maintain them with the same exactness he has elsewhere displayed.

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* Odys. lib. xvii. v. 204. We were told in Ithaca a curious story of some learned stranger, who, by a supposed magical knowledge, had pointed out to the natives the spot where they should find this well. Previously to this time, it is said to have been concealed by soil and fragments covering it.

† Sir W. Gell has given a very accurate plan of the walls and other remains on the hill of Aito; and maintains the conjecture that the area at the summit may have been occupied by the palace of the Ithacan kings.

‡ Odys. lib. xiv. 408, &c.

The cave in the bay of Dexia has already been noticed. I have never seen the rock at the northern extremity of the island, which has obtained the name of Homer's School, probably given it by some natives of Ithaca, who were desirous of more intimately connecting their country with the history of the poet. There are the remains of ancient walls and niches here, which are accurately described in the work of Sir W. Gell.

On the whole, Ithaca may be considered a very interesting island, and well worthy of being visited by the traveller, among the other scenery and vestiges of ancient Greece. The town of Vathi, though not affording great variety, yet would form for the time a pleasant and tranquil place of residence; and one by no means deficient in the ordinary comforts of life. The communication with Zante and Cephalonia is frequent enough to prevent the character of complete seclusion from the world.

Before quitting Ithaca, we made an arrangement with our host Zavò, who expressed a desire to accompany us to Ioannina, to wait for him with this view at the town of Santa-Maura. On the morning of the 24th, we prosecuted our voyage from Ithaca to this place, a distance of nearly 30 miles. Quitting the port of Vathi, you seem as in a great lake; the shores of Acarnania, Ithaca, and Santa-Maura forming its boundaries; Calamo Atako*, and other isles scattered over its surface. Following with the eye the high coasts of Santa-Maura, in their direction towards the south-west, we saw, or believed we saw, the celebrated Leucadian rock, which forms one of the points at this extremity of the island. The scene of Sappho's death is a lime-stone cliff, overhanging the sea; not very lofty, though sufficiently so for the purpose to which lovers in old times applied it.

Santa-Maura, (Αια Μαυρα of the modern Greeks,) the Leucadia of antiquity, is an island resembling the Isle of Man in figure, though

* It may be mentioned that Wheeler supposes this small isle to be the Ithaca of Homer.

somewhat inferior in extent. It consists of a range of limestone mountains, which, separated from the hills of Acarnania to the north, by a flat peninsula and narrow strait of sea, gradually diverges from the main land; and is terminated by the Leucadian promontory, about 25 miles to the south-south-west. The most elevated points in this mountain chain are St. Elias, Skarus, and Elatus: and I should conjecture, from the distance at which it is seen, that the first of these must be nearly 3,000 feet above the level of the sea*. In proceeding to the town of Santa-Maura, which stands on the peninsula at the north extremity, we sailed up the gradually contracting strait which separates the island from the main land. The mountains on each side form a bold and broken coast, and the channel is further diversified by numerous small isles, which divide it into different branches. These isles, and particularly the largest of them, called Meganesi, were long the resort of bands of pirates, who lived by a promiscuous plunder on the sea and the adjoining shores. It has been asserted, that the former governments of Santa-Maura did not discountenance a piracy, in the profits of which they had some participation; and it is a fact more certain than creditable, that Ali-Pasha has been obliged to remonstrate with the insular authorities, on the protection they afforded to the robbers, whom his vigorous military police had driven from their recesses in the woods and mountains of Acarnania. The British local government, acting with more intelligence and better principle, has, I believe, concerted some arrangement with Ali on this subject, and the pirates of Meganesi are now scarcely known but in the stories of the boatmen who live upon these shores.

The coast of Santa-Maura, opposite Acarnania, is the most populous district of the island; and where the vallies open from among the mountains towards the sea, are many picturesque villages, surrounded by olive and orange groves. Four miles below the town

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* Claudian very correctly calls this chain "*jugæ Leucatæ*." Lib. i. 174.

of Santa-Maura, the channel rapidly narrows, and becomes so shallow, that vessels of more than 20 or 30 tons burden are obliged to remain here, and to communicate with the town by boats. Even in our Scampavia, we were unable to reach the shore, but transferred ourselves to a *Monoxylon*, a boat made out of a single piece of wood, as the name implies; long, narrow, and drawing only a few inches water. Connected with this shallow part of the channel are numerous lagoons, in which salt is made by the evaporation of the sea-water.

The town of Santa-Maura, situated on a low peninsular neck of land, derives its only pleasing feature from an extensive and venerable wood of olives, which stretches backwards to the foot of the mountains, and through which are several fine avenues, forming the termination of different roads towards the town: it contains about 5,000 inhabitants: the streets are narrow and ill-built, but the police of the present government has made many reforms in regard to the cleanliness and other internal comforts of the place: the houses, with few exceptions, are constructed of wood, a precaution rendered necessary by the violence and frequency of the earthquakes occurring here. The shops, which occupy the central part of the town, are well furnished with manufactured articles, chiefly brought hither from Malta; the sale of these goods not being limited to the islanders, but being increased by the demand from the population of the opposite coasts. In the streets of Santa-Maura, the native Albanians are seen together with the mixed Greek and Venetian population of the place, — a people easily distinguished by their manly persons, the stateliness of their gait, and the picturesque dress of their country. They are not permitted, however, to enter the island armed, a regulation which has been adopted in consequence of assassinations committed by Albanians in the very centre of the town.

The peninsula on which Santa-Maura stands, stretches forwards, in a semicircular form, to within 200 yards of the main land, and the intervening channel is so shallow, as to be fordable without difficulty. We have the testimony of Livy, Strabo, and other writers, that this channel was artificially made; and that Leucadia, in more ancient

times, was a peninsula connected with the continent of Acarnania *. The period and design of the separation are not equally explained; but it may be presumed that the motive was either that of security, or to effect a passage for vessels, without the necessity of coasting round the island †. The castle of Santa-Maura stands on the shore of this narrow strait, not elevated in its site, but nevertheless strong in its almost insular position, and only insecure on the side of the continent, where it is commanded by some rising ground, less than a quarter of a mile distant. On this eminence, our extraordinary neighbour, Ali-Pasha, has erected a small fortress, while by another, of larger size, four miles to the south, he commands that part of the channel which is navigable for vessels of greater burden. In their present state, these fortresses are ill-provided and little formidable, but they are capable of being rendered otherwise.

From the town to the castle of Santa-Maura, by the semicircular sweep of the peninsula, is a distance of three miles; but a shorter route is afforded by a narrow stone causeway, traversing the bay in a direct line between the two places. This causeway, which is supported by 366 arches, formerly served as an aqueduct for the conveyance of water to the castle, and was probably a work of the Venetian government.

Santa-Maura, after partaking in all the successive fortunes of the Seven Isles, was captured in April 1810 by the English, after their previous occupation of Zante and Cephalonia. The castle, which was garrisoned by 800 French and Italian troops, held out for nine days, the blockade and bombardment being continued vigorously during the greater part of that time. Major Clarke, of the 35th

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* Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 17. Homer calls it ἀκτην ὑπειροιο.

† From the description of Livy, it would seem, as if this channel had been opened, comparatively near his own time; but Strabo (lib. x.) speaks of it as the work of the Corinthians; and it is certainly more probable, that it should have been made at the period when that enterprizing people were establishing their colonies upon this coast. The name of Dioryctus, as appears from Pliny and *Polybius*, was given to this artificial strait.

regiment, fell in this siege, and was buried within the fortress. A marble tomb-stone, erected by the officers of the regiment, records at once his merits and his fate. The garrison of Santa-Maura consisted, when I was there, of a few companies of the 35th, and of five or six hundred men of the Corsican Rangers, a force sufficient to guard the place against any sudden attack, either from Corfu or the Italian coast. The strength of the castle has been much increased since the English obtained possession of it; and these improvements are still progressive.

During our stay at Santa-Maura, we were hospitably entertained by Lieutenant-Colonel Macombe, of the Corsican Rangers, who held the principal civil and military authority of the island. The local government is composed as at Zante and Cephalonia; and, as in those isles, the English authority has had the effect of giving an increase both of vigour and integrity to the administration of justice. The Venetian provincial government was not less corrupt here than elsewhere, and its effects were equally marked in the frequency of crime, in the feebleness of law, and in the general want of social virtue among the people. When I was a second time at Santa-Maura, in the spring of 1813, a man, of some wealth and consideration, suffered death for the crime of murdering his nephew, under circumstances of great atrocity. For eight previous assassinations, this individual had procured an exemption in the corrupt administration of the laws. At the time of his final arrest, much effort was made by bribery to obtain his escape, and his punishment seemed to create at least as much surprize as satisfaction in the people of Santa-Maura.

The population of this island does not exceed 18,000 souls. Its trade, which has been somewhat increasing of late, consists chiefly in the export of salt, of which between five and six thousand tons are said to be annually made in the island: oil and wine are the other principal exports; the annual produce of the former being estimated at about 3,000 barrels; of the latter, at 1,000. The island may be said also to traffic in manual labour, as a great number of the

peasants pass over every year to the southern parts of Albania, to assist in the cultivation of the land; for which service they are chiefly paid in produce. The cattle and grain required for the consumption of the island, are drawn almost entirely from the continent. The other imports are chiefly of cloth, sugar, coffee, hardware, and other manufactured articles, but all in very trifling quantity. The revenue of Santa-Maura varies at present from 30,000 to 34,000 dollars per annum, which leaves some surplus, after paying the civil expences of the island.

The society in the town of Santa-Maura is of the most limited kind. The number of well-educated natives is small, and the habits of the place are not yet formed for the refinements of social intercourse. One of the most intelligent inhabitants is Signore Zambelli, a young man who has studied in Italy, and attaching himself to the law, has acquired as much fame in his profession as the narrow sphere of Santa-Maura will allow. He is, moreover, an antiquarian, a collector of coins, and the husband of the handsomest woman in the island. This gentleman, when I first saw him, expressed to me his wishes that some researches might be made among the ruins of an ancient city, about two miles to the south of the modern town, which ruins have been supposed to be those of Neritos, one of the three cities of ancient Leucadia. When a second time at Santa-Maura, I learnt that researches had actually been made there in the interval, but without obtaining any valuable results. In its present state, this spot exhibits the remains of massive walls, of the old Greek structure, ascending and surrounding the summit of a narrow ridge of hill near the sea, and of numerous sepulchres which appear among the vineyards that cover its declivity. Though the description of Livy is not entirely applicable to the present appearances of the flat peninsula at the north extremity of Santa-Maura; yet I cannot doubt that these remains testify the site of the ancient fortress and city of Leucas, or Neritos, which was taken by the Romans during the war with Philip of Macedon. The low land, exposed on each side to the action of the sea, may be supposed, in a period of nearly

2,000 years, to have undergone some change in position or extent*. All other circumstances in the description of Livy are perfectly applicable to the ruins near the town of Santa-Maura; and from his narrative we may further collect, that this city was the principal place of Acarnania, where the people of this region assembled to hold their public councils.†

* Pliny notices such changes from the accumulation of sand about the Dioryctus or Strait, lib. iv. c. 1. In mentioning Leucas and Neritos as the same place, I am aware that Strabo speaks of the former as established by the Corinthians, nearer to the strait than Neritos or Nericus; but though the ruins, described above, are certainly at some distance from the narrowest part of the channel, the description of Livy is so applicable to their situation, that I can scarcely doubt that this was the Leucas besieged by the Romans under Flaminius.

† Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 17.

CHAP. IV.

PASSAGE TO PREVESA. — HISTORY OF PREVESA. — ALBANIANS. — TURKS. — SERAGLIO OF ALI PASHA. — RUINS OF NICOPOLIS. — BATTLE OF ACTIUM. — PASSAGE UP THE GULPH OF ARTA. — SALAORA. — ALBANIAN DANCE. — PLAINS OF ARTA.

OUR Ithacan host, Zavò, having joined us according to his appointment, we left Santa-Maura on the 27th for Prevesa, the first town on this side in the territories of the Vizier of Albania. The distance not exceeding 14 miles, we performed this passage in a small boat, with which, notwithstanding, we had some difficulty in making our way through the very shallow channel separating the island from the main land. This channel, progressively widening, is continued for two or three miles beyond the castle of Santa-Maura. Near the place where it opens into the sea, a small river descends on the Acarnanian side from a circular lake near the coast, in the neighbourhood of which was perhaps situated the Thyrium of antiquity *. Our approach to Prevesa was interesting to me in the exhibition of an oriental spectacle, the first which had yet been placed before my eyes. On the shores of the sea, and of that sea where the fortunes of Marc Antony yielded to those of Augustus, a large and splendid seraglio is now rising up to grace the dignity of the modern ruler of Epirus. The deeply projecting roofs, the long and uniform rows of windows in the upper part of the building, and the painted decorations of its exterior, were the most striking circumstances in the distant view of this place, which, though deviating from all our accustomed rules of architecture, had nevertheless something of irregular magnificence in its extent and proportions, which arrested the attention, and gratified the fancy.

* Ciceron. lib. xvi. epist. 5.

The town of Prevesa is situated on the northern shore of the strait which connects the gulf of Arta with the Ionian Sea. Once populous and commercial, it has in later times suffered a change both in its population and its fortunes. The origin of the place is not perfectly ascertained, but was probably a consequence of this important situation at the mouth of the gulph; and the same circumstance doubtless led the Venetians to make those repeated attempts against it, which ended in its final conquest from the Turks. The military events of 1797 enabled France to obtain, by treaty, all the Venetian possessions in the Ionian seas; and the continental towns of Prevesa, Vonitza, Parga, and Butrinto, were garrisoned by French troops. The war, however, which soon afterwards broke out between France and Turkey, afforded to Ali Pasha a pretext for aggrandizing his territory, and obtaining a port which is of great importance to the commerce of his dominions. In November 1798, he brought down from Ioannina, an army of a few thousand Albanians, with the design of attacking Prevesa. The French garrison, which did not amount to 1,000 men, commanded by General La Salsette, met him in the plains of Nicopolis, to the north of Prevesa, and an unequal battle was fought amidst the ruins of the city of Augustus. The French, compelled to yield, were pursued into the town with great slaughter. Many of the Greek inhabitants of Prevesa were involved in the same destruction; and it has been told me, that the heads of the latter, after their mustachios had been taken off, were sent to Constantinople, with the pretence that they belonged to Frenchmen who perished in the battle.

This act of Ali Pasha, attended as it was by certain circumstances of treachery, will not speedily pass away from the memory or feelings of the French. It has carefully been recorded by M. Pouquèvillé, the French minister at Ioannina; and in a French military dictionary, lately published, I have observed that as much detail is given of the action of Prevesa as of the battles of Marengo or Austerlitz; and accompanied by the most bitter invectives against

the character and conduct of Ali Pasha. I have conversed on the subject with Mouctar Pasha, the eldest son of Ali, who was present, and bore a conspicuous part in the battle. He remarked to me, that the feebleness of the French resistance afforded him less opportunity of signalizing himself than he had desired; a statement which does not well accord with the account the French have given of the gallantry of their officers and men on this occasion.

At the time of this event, Prevesa is said to have contained 10 or 12,000 people. The conduct which Ali Pasha has pursued with regard to this place, is singular and apparently inconsistent. Desirous, as it would seem, of keeping up the commercial importance of the place, and of making it a frequent residence of his court, he has nevertheless adopted measures, which has reduced the population to three or four thousand, and substituted the Albanian peasant or soldier for the active and industrious Greek inhabitants. It appears indeed to have been his studious aim to oppress and diminish the latter class of population. Many are said to have perished by his orders when Prevesa was taken; and the greater number of those who remained, have either been ruined by his exactions, or compelled to fly from his power. Some still continue on the spot, but under the influence of persecution and perpetual insecurity. The only explanation of the Vizier's conduct is, that he has regarded the possession of Prevesa less in a commercial view, though obviously wishing to increase its trade, than as a point of refuge for himself and his treasures, should any political change compel him to evacuate the northern part of his dominions. His attention has been earnestly directed to the fortification of the place; in pursuance of which object he has erected two fortresses at the entrance of the gulph, and insulated the town on the land side by a broad and deep moat, two miles in length, and connected at each extremity with the sea. The same motive, conjoined with that of pecuniary interest, has probably induced him to sacrifice the trading Greeks of Prevesa, in whom he could not confide, and to place in their room the hardy and faithful natives of his Albanian moun-

tains. Had France retained the dominion of the Illyrian provinces, and her extended schemes of European conquest, the possession of a fortified sea-port might have been of great eventual importance to the security of Ali. *

We landed on the beach at Prevesa, and traverse a narrow, dirty, and irregular street to the house of the English vice-consul. In its present state, the town consists of little more than this street, skirting the shore for about a mile, and of some irregular groupes of huts among the olive-groves, which shelter the place on the land side. Though in the possession of a Turkish potentate, Prevesa does not yet exhibit all the peculiarities of a Turkish town; and in walking through it, I still recognised something of that mixed Greek and Venetian character which is so common throughout the Ionian Isles; but new and striking figures were now added to the living scenery before us. The Albanian peasant or soldier, words which in this country seem to be almost synonimous, is here seen in the completeness of his national character and costume. Generally masculine in his person, having features which shew him not subdued into the tameness of slavery, and with a singular stateliness of his walk and carriage, the manner of his dress adds to these peculiarities, and renders the whole figure more striking and picturesque than any other with which I am acquainted. To an eye not then accustomed to note minute differences, where all was new and imposing, the most remarkable appearances in this costume were the external mantle, falling loosely over the shoulders, and reaching down behind as far as the knees, made of a coarse brown woollen-stuff, but bordered and variously figured with red-coloured threads; — the two vests, the outer one open, descending to the waist, and occasionally made of green or purple velvet; the inner vest laced in the middle, and richly figured; — a broad sash or belt around the waist, in which

* It is an interesting fact, that among all the changes that have taken place in the population and prosperity of Prevesa, a school has survived that was established here, about 25 years ago, by the enlightened liberality of Mr. North.

are fixed one, or sometimes two, blunderbusses and a large knife; the handles of the blunderbusses often of great length, and curiously worked in silver;—a coarse cotton shirt coming from beneath the belt, and falling down a short way below the knees, in the manner of the Scotch kilt, covering the drawers, which are also of cotton;—the long sabre;—the circular greaves of worked metal, protecting the knees and ancles;—the variously coloured stockings and sandals;—the small red cap, which just covers the crown of the head, from underneath which the hair flows in great profusion behind, while in front it is shaved off, so as to leave the forehead and temples entirely bare. To this general description may be added the *capote*, or great cloke, one of the most striking peculiarities of the Albanese dress,—a coarse, shaggy, woollen garment, with open sleeves, and a square flap behind, which serves occasionally as a hood, the colour sometimes grey or white, so as to give the resemblance to a goat-skin thrown over the back. I will not venture to say whether this is the *sagum* of the ancients; but unquestionably there are many points of resemblance in the Albanian costume to that of the Grecian and Roman soldier. In comparing the outlines of this national dress with those of other countries, I find none to resemble it so much as that of the Sardinian peasantry. But the comparison is greatly in favour of the Albanian; and the half-naked Sard, as he is seen in the streets of Cagliari, is but a meagre representation of the majestic figures which keep guard round the palaces of Ali Pasha.

The appearance of the Turk on his native soil, was another new circumstance in the streets of Prevesa; and it is a novelty which forcibly engages the attention of the stranger from the west of Europe. Elsewhere you do but see the various forms of one species; a difference indeed of language; but only small and progressive varieties of figure, custom, and dress. But entering upon these regions, the scene is suddenly shifted, and you have before your eyes a new species of beings, with all those gaudy appendages of oriental character and scenery which has so long delighted the imagination in the tales of the East. The uniform habits of the Turk, derived from his religion

and other circumstances, render this change almost as remarkable in the first Turkish town you may enter, as in those much farther removed from the vicinity of the European nations. It has been already mentioned, indeed, that Prevesa retains a mixed character of population; but even here I was sensible to these strong impressions of novelty, and looked upon many things as a sort of magic-lanthorn scenery; or as something intermediate between the pictures of fancy and the realities passing before me. As an instance of this, my memory refers me to the first sight of a Turkish mosque, lately erected at Prevesa; to the cry of the Muzzein from the top of the Minaret, announcing the hour of prayer; and to the spectacle of the turbaned Turk, graceful and dignified in his dress, and with a certain majestic sedateness of movement putting aside his slippers, and slowly entering the place of his religious worship. For a moment you might forget the ignorance and prejudices of this man, and fancy him worthy and born to command.

We were received with politeness by the Vice-Consul Signore Valentinis, and accommodated with a room in his house. He is a native of the country, and wears the small red Albanese cap, with the hair flowing loosely from behind. He accompanied us on a visit of compliment which we paid to the Vaivode, or Commandant of Prevesa, shortly after our arrival. This person resides in a part of that palace which has been hitherto occupied by the Vizier, during his different visits to Prevesa; a large building, but ruinous in appearance, and without a single appurtenance of splendour. An area surrounding it, is inclosed by a deep moat, and by high walls, with a few cannon mounted on them. We found the Vaivode encircled by no magnificence of state, but sitting on a grassy knoll within this area, with an attendance of twenty or thirty Albanian soldiers around him; himself an Albanian, and dressed in the costume of his country. We remained about five minutes with him, using the interpretation of the Vice-Consul, who spoke in the Greek language; but nothing further passed than a few questions and replies as to the countries from which we came, and the future plans of our journey.

From this place, we went, under the guidance of the son of our host, to visit the new seraglio of Prevesa. Its extent is already great, though the original plan of the edifice has not yet been completed. But the style of Turkish building is so different from the European, that while some portions of the palace have scarcely risen from the their foundation, others are finished, and in a habitable state. The basis of the edifice is of stone, the superstructure almost entirely of wood. Several of the apartments are more than 80 feet in length, with a breadth of about 30 feet; and judging from the few which were already completed, the interior decorations will be very superb; tawdry, indeed, from the quantity and vividness of the colouring, and in other respects wanting in good taste; but still imposing in the general effect. The carving of the wood-work is in general very well done, and every part of the building is luxuriantly ornamented in this way. The paintings on the walls have here and there a regular subject of landscape, but for the most part very indifferently executed. A great number of workmen, either Greeks or Albanians, were occupied in the palace when we visited it; a people miserable in appearance, and miserable in reality. A groupe of ragged children met us on our entrance, and followed us through the different apartments, begging in Greek for *paras*, a small Turkish coin, made of a base silver, forty of which are equal to a piastre, or nearly equivalent to a shilling. I was informed that these workmen are drawn together from different districts by the arbitrary mandate of the Vizier, and that each district is compelled to support its contingent by a certain allowance of Indian corn, amounting to about 2¼ lbs. per day for each individual. When completed, this palace will be surrounded by the waters of the sea, which are already conducted by a tunnel under the building, almost to its centre. In the precincts of this place, I observed growing a considerable quantity of the *ricinus communis*. The commerce of Prevesa, excepting the produce of oil and corn in the district behind the town, depends entirely on that of Arta and the interior of the gulph; and I shall therefore omit speaking of it for the present.

The celebrated battle of Actium was fought at the entrance of the the gulph of Arta, immediately opposite to Prevesa; and to commemorate an event which made him master of the Roman world, Augustus founded Nicopolis, the city of victory, on an isthmus connecting the peninsula of Prevesa with the main land, and dividing the waters of the gulph from those of the Ionian Sea. We occupied the morning of the 28th in visiting the ruins of this city, accompanied by an Ithacan friend, and by the son of the Vice-Consul. The distance of the ruins from Prevesa is about three miles; the road thither chiefly through the olive woods which occupy the greater part of this small peninsula. The isthmus on which Nicopolis stood, is, in its narrowest point, little more than a mile across, and for the most part on a low level, though beyond it a ridge of hill rises rapidly to the north. The ruins are extensive, and though only one or two features in them are singly magnificent, yet in their situation, and in the groupes which they form to the eye, there is something venerable and imposing. The style of architecture, as might be expected from the origin of Nicopolis, is entirely Roman; and in all the remains, the principal material is the Roman brick, with thick intervening layers of mortar, indurated into perfect stone. The most remarkable objects among the ruins are a portion of the great wall of the city, with several large archways underneath it; two theatres; the stadium; an aqueduct; an edifice, which may probably have been the public baths of the city; and another large building, in which has been found a marble pavement, several marble steps, perhaps those of a portico, and the fragments of some Corinthian columns. Of the two theatres, the finest is that situated on the rising ground to the north of the city, near the shore of the Ambracian gulph. It is on a large scale; and in its general structure and proportionate dimensions, much resembling the great theatre at Tauromina in Sicily. The view from it, though fine, is not, however, comparable to that from the Sicilian theatre. But this is too much to require: it is doing no injustice to any landscape, to say that it is inferior to the magnificent scenery of Tauromina.

The *stadium* is closely adjoining to this theatre, and its area perfectly distinct*. In the other theatre, which is of smaller dimensions, the corridors are tolerably perfect, and the *cavea* very distinct, but the *vomitoria* nearly obliterated. The course of the great aqueduct of Nicopolis is marked by the now insulated masses of masonry-work, which formed its supporters, stretching in a long line over the plain. This was a work at once laborious and splendid, the water being brought to the city from near the sources of the river Luro, a distance, as I have been informed, of about 16 miles. The edifice which I conceive to have been the baths of Nicopolis, though our guide assured us that it was the ruin of a church, is situated directly in the line of this aqueduct; and on a second examination of the spot, in the spring of 1813, I found the channel, which conveyed the water from its higher level in the aqueduct to the lower parts of the building. On this basement level are the remains of several parallel pipes, or channels, accurately worked in marble, with others traversing these at right-angles, evidently intended for the conveyance of water to different compartments of the building. Many of these channeled marbles, as well as the fragments of marble columns, have been taken away by the orders of Ali Pasha, and applied to different purposes in the construction of his Seraglio

* Strabo speaks of a gymnasium and stadium at Nicopolis, situated in a grove in the suburbs of the city, and states that quinquennial games were instituted here by Augustus. Some writers, both ancient and modern, have supposed that the promontory of Actium was the scene of these games, but it seems to me certain that they were held in Nicopolis itself; and it is probable that the confusion has arisen, from the circumstance that Actian games were actually celebrated on the promontory, before the period of the great battle which signalized this spot. The description of Strabo very accurately applies to the theatre and stadium on the north side of the ruins of Nicopolis. He further mentions a temple of Apollo on the hill above the grove, where were the stadium and gymnasium; and as we know that there was a larger temple of this deity on the promontory at Actium, it seems probable that Augustus erected this smaller one, to attest his gratitude to the god who presided over the place of his victory. Dio Cassius mentions this temple, (lib. li.,) and calls it ὑπαίθριον.

at Prevesa. The dimensions of this building are large; and the niches for statues, the loftiness of the passages and collateral apartments, and the width of the great entrance, shew that the edifice was one of considerable splendour.

Sepulchres are found in different parts of the ruins of Nicopolis, and some of these have been opened with a view to discovery. Near an archway, in the great wall, I found a Greek sepulchral stone half buried under ground, on which, with difficulty, I made out a few words, — the simple record of the death of "*the sweet mother Æliale, and her sweet young daughter.*" The addition of the word Χαιρε or *farewell*, probably completed the inscription; but this was hidden by the position of the stone. There is something of pathos in the brief simplicity of these ancient sepulchral inscriptions, which in vain we seek to rival by the verbose panegyrics on the tombs of our own times.

Amidst the briars and shrubs which cover the greater part of the plains of Nicopolis, a few spots are occupied in tillage, and we stopped a short time with the peasants whom we found engaged in their labours. They proffered us for sale many copper, and a few silver coins, found in ploughing the soil, but they were of the Roman emperors, and of little rarity. The site of Nicopolis is now called the *Palaio-Kastro*, a name of obvious origin, and very generally applied in Greece to the vestiges of ancient walls, or other remains of antiquity. From different elevated points among the ruins, there are striking views of the shores of the Ionian Sea, terminated to the south by the mountains of Santa-Maura, extending towards the north to Porto Fanari and Parga, and comprehending the isles of Paxo and Anti-Paxo, which are considered as one of the members of the Sept-Insular commonwealth. The ancient port of Comarus, on the Ionian Sea, is also distinctly seen, described by Dio Cassius as one extremity of the walls built by Augustus to defend his camp, before the battle of Actium. The camp itself was placed on the ridge of hill to the north of the isthmus.*

* Dion. Cas. lib. l.

The city of Nicopolis, artificially created by a forced assemblage of population, drawn from various towns of Ætolia and Acarnania, survived but a very few centuries the death of its victorious founder*. We learn that its splendour gradually decayed; and at the close of the fourth century, it appears to have been in great measure destroyed by the Goths, at a time when the degraded dignity of the empire allowed to Alaric a military command in these regions.

Returning to Prevesa, we did but continue there until a boat was provided to carry us up the gulph of Arta to Salaora, it being our design to proceed to Ioannina by the way of Arta, a route of somewhat more that sixty miles. From Prevesa to Arta there is another road, by the village of Luro, entirely overland; but for various reasons we decided on proceeding by water up the gulph. The entrance to this extensive arm of the sea continues to be very narrow for two or three miles, and the shallowness of the water at its mouth prevents the access of vessels of large tonnage. This narrow strait derives a singular semicircular course, from the projection of a long neck of land on the south side, celebrated in history as the promontory of Actium†. It has been made a question in what exact place the great naval battle was fought, which, from its momentous consequences, has given so much reputation to this spot. The description Plutarch affords us of the engagement, is the most minute; and from different circumstances in his narrative, I think it may be inferred that the contest between the two fleets took place in the whole extent of the strait which winds round the low promontory of Actium, but principally perhaps on the outside of this promontory, and in the channel which now forms the harbour of Prevesa. I infer the latter circumstance from the fact that the battle was delayed four

* Strabo affords an apology for this act of Augustus, in stating that the inhabitants were of themselves deserting the cities from which he drew the population of Nicopolis.

† See Pliny, lib. iv. c. 8. Thucyd. lib. i., Strabo, lib. x.

days from the sea running too high, which could scarcely have happened in the inner part of the strait, and also from the effort of Augustus to draw the ships of Antony into the open sea, and thereby to attack them with greater success. That the engagement, however, could not have been limited to a small space, is perfectly obvious, as about 700 vessels were occupied in this contest, and those of Antony were many of them of eight and ten banks of oars. It is a remarkable circumstance that the wind appears to have changed during the battle, and that this change of wind enabled Cleopatra, with her Egyptian gallies, to fly from the combat. Had this not happened, Antony might have remained with his legions, and the series of succeeding events might possibly have been changed to the world.*

No vestiges of the ancient temple of Apollo remain on the promontory of Actium. On the low ground, however, near the extremity of this neck of land, are the considerable ruins of a Roman wall, which possibly may have had some reference to the games formerly celebrated on this spot, and which, it appears, were transferred to Nicopolis after the creation of that city by Augustus.

Beyond Actium we found the channel gradually to expand, and soon afterwards the whole breadth of the gulph of Arta opened out before us: a noble sheet of water, more than 30 miles in length, and varying from four to eight or ten miles in width, with a magnificent boundary of mountains through the whole extent of its circumference, not indeed rising immediately from the water, but elevated by successive ridges to heights, some of which had already received the first snows of winter†. The most conspicuous feature in this mountain scenery was a part of the vast chain of Pindus, first seen in

* See Plutarch, in vit. Antonii. — The change in the wind is not directly mentioned, but as it blew from the sea at the commencement of the battle; and as Cleopatra is afterwards said to have fled with a favourable wind towards the Peloponnesus, it may be presumed that such a change did actually occur.

† Pliny makes the dimensions of the gulph more considerable. "*Ambracicus sinus, longitudinis XXXIX. MP., latitudinis XV.*" Lib. iv. cap. 1.

some remote summits towards the north, which might be traced southwards to the great and precipitous mountain of Tzumerka, and afterwards might be followed by the eye in a south-easterly direction along the ridge of Makronoro, and other more distant mountain summits. Of the more immediate shores of the gulf, the southern, or that of Acarnania, is most striking. This coast is high, is finely broken by alternate bays and promontories, and clothed with rich and extensive woods. At the head of one of these deep bays stands the town of Vonitza, surmounted by the ruins of an old castle, a place which has partaken in all the fortunes of Prevesa, and has now alike declined from its former state. This country, to the south of the gulph, the Acarnania of the ancients, is now generally known by the name of Karlili. The northern shore is formed for many miles by the great plains of Arta; the city of this name standing on these plains, at the distance of about nine miles from the sea. The river of Arta, the Aractus of antiquity, after breaking from its narrow channel among the mountains to the north of the city, pursues a winding course through the plains, and enters the gulph near their eastern boundary.

This arm of the sea is well known to have been the Ambracian gulph of the ancients, so named from Ambracia, the principal city on its shore. This city, which was founded by a colony of Corinthians, took an important part in some of the early events of the Peloponnesian war; afterwards became the royal residence of Pyrrhus, by whom it was greatly embellished; was successively besieged and taken by the last Philip of Macedon and the Romans, and finally lost in the annexation of its inhabitants to the new city of Nicopolis. Though much is said regarding Ambracia in the histories of Thucydides, Polybius, and Livy, as well as by the ancient geographers, yet some doubt has existed as to the precise situation of the city. That it was on the north side of the gulph, and very near the river Aracthus, may, I think, be inferred with certainty from these writers; notwithstanding that a modern village, with the name of Ambrakia, is found at the south-east extremity of the gulph. Several recent authors have placed it on, or in the vicinity of, the present

city of Arta; and there is perhaps some plausibility in this opinion, though it must be noticed that others have given it a situation nearer to the spot where the Aracthus now enters the gulph.

The regularity of the winds in the gulph of Arta is worthy of remark. Very uniformly they blow outwards, or from some easterly point, in the early part of the day; and about noon are changed into a sea breeze, which continues till night. During three several visits to Prevesa, I remarked only one or two exceptions to this rule; and I may add, that a circumstance stated by Plutarch, in his narrative of the battle of Actium, renders it probable that the same regularity existed at that remote period. How uniform is nature amidst the many changes of men and nations!

After a pleasant passage of three hours from Prevesa, we landed at Salaora, a small groupe of buildings, situated on a peninsula on the northern shore of the gulph. This is the *Scala*, or shipping-place, of Arta; and a certain number of vessels are generally lying here, either discharging goods for land-carriage, or taking-in produce, which is brought down from the interior; the carriage in both cases being performed entirely by horses. A *dogana*, or custom-house, is established here, at present under the direction of a Jew. The principal building at Salaora is a small palace of the Vizier's, employed as a place of occasional repose when he is travelling between Ioannina and Prevesa. In this edifice, which has no other splendour than that of situation, we obtained permission to pass the night, in consequence of the recommendations we had brought with us. We entered through a dirty outer-court, and, passing by an old Turk, who was sitting on the ground, came into the first apartment of the palace; neither more nor less than a stable, with half a dozen horses feeding in it. A wooden staircase conducted us to a broad wooden gallery, open in front, occupying, as is common in Turkish houses, a great part of this first floor of the building. The habitable rooms form wings to the central gallery; but two apartments only are fitted up for the reception of the Vizier and his great officers. These we were not permitted to occupy; but

were conveyed to a large square room, with iron grates in lieu of windows, the wood forming the walls, unpainted, and no furniture of any description save three straw-mattrasses. With some difficulty, our servant Demetrius procured a few sticks to kindle a fire on the hearth, and with still more difficulty obtained the materials for our evening-meal. While this was going on, I was attracted by the appearance of a light in an adjoining apartment, and entering it, saw a tall and rugged Albanese soldier, stretched at full length by the embers of a declining fire, sleeping profoundly; his fusil, his blunderbusses, and sabre lying beside him. There was something in the scene which almost awakened a fear, lest the man should suddenly awake while a stranger was thus gazing upon him.

In the evening we were drawn by the sound of music, to one of the furnished apartments at the other end of the palace; we found there a singular groupe of people, two or three Jews who had just arrived from Ioannina, some Albanian officers, and ten or twelve soldiers and attendants of the same nation. We learnt that the Jews were persons employed in furnishing the palaces of Ali Pasha, and that they were now on their way to Prevesa, to prepare for the reception of the Vizier, who was expected there in the course of a few weeks. They invited us to enter the apartment, and we seated ourselves on the *divans* beside them. Wine, impregnated with turpentine, as is the custom in every part of continental Greece, was handed to us by an Albanian soldier, and succeeded by coffee and Turkish pipes. Mean-while the music, which had been arrested for a short time by our entrance, was again resumed. The national airs of Albania were sung by two natives, accompanied by the violin, the pipe, and tambourine; the songs, which were chiefly of a martial nature, were often delivered in a sort of alternate response by the two voices, and in a style of music bearing the mixed character of simplicity and wildness. The pipe which was extremely shrill and harsh, appeared to regulate the pauses of the voice; and upon these pauses, which were very long and accurately measured, much of the harmony seemed to

depend. The cadence, too, was singularly lengthened in these airs, and its frequent occurrence at each one of the pauses gave great additional wildness to the music. An Albanese dance followed, exceeding in strange uncouthness what might be expected from a North American savage: it was performed by a single person, the pipe and tambourine accompanying his movements. He threw back his long hair in wild disorder, closed his eyes, and unceasingly for ten minutes went through all the most violent and unnatural postures; sometimes strongly contorting his body to one side, then throwing himself on his knees for a few seconds; sometimes whirling rapidly round, at other times again casting his arms violently about his head. If at any moment his efforts appeared to languish, the increasing loudness of the pipe summoned him to fresh exertion, and he did not cease till apparently exhausted by fatigue. When the entertainment was over, the musicians and dancer followed us to our apartment, to seek some recompence for their labours.

This national dance of the Albanians, the Albanitiko as it is generally called, is very often performed by two persons; I will not pretend to say how far it resembles, or is derived from, the ancient Pyrrhic, but the suggestion of its similarity could not fail to occur, in observing the strange and outrageous contortions which form the peculiar character of this entertainment.

On the morning of the 29th, finding it impossible to procure more than two horses to carry our luggage, we decided on walking to Arta, which is about ten or twelve miles distant. This determination was very unpleasant to our friend Zavò, whom we did not find to possess all the strength and resolution of his great Ithacan ancestor. After having advanced but a few miles, he pleaded fatigue, and availed himself of the horse of a peasant whom we overtook on the road, to procure an exemption from this unaccustomed labour. The first part of the route from Salaora is over a broad stone-causeway, which traverses the extensive lagoons on this shore of the gulph. Several circumstances seem to indicate that the plains are here gradually gaining on the sea; and I think

it probable, that the peninsula of Salaora was once entirely detached from the land*. After leaving the causeway, we continued to traverse, for some distance, the low swampy district through which the river Luro flows into the gulph, which part of the plains is entirely occupied as pasture land. As we receded further from the sea, their aspect gradually became more luxuriant and fertile, and after passing the small village of Aresa, belonging to Mouctar Pasha, the eldest son of the Vizier, we found ourselves in a country glowing with richness and beauty. The plain of Arta is in fact one of the most fertile districts of Albania, and, notwithstanding many deficiencies of culture, teems with a luxuriant and profitable vegetation. The greater part is occupied as pasture land; a large portion also is devoted to the culture of Indian corn, wheat, rice, and tobacco; while in the vicinity of Arta, the vineyards are numerous, and the orange and fig tree are made objects of peculiar attention. The population of this plain is of a very fluctuating kind, and several villages appear in different parts of it, which are appropriated to the peasants of Santa-Maura and Cephalonia, who come over to assist in the labours of the tillage and harvest.

The road from Salaora to Arta is at present in a very bad state; but about two miles from the latter place, we came upon a new road which the Vizier has ordered to be made across the plains, and of which about a mile was already completed. The construction of the road, directed by a Cephaloniote, is excellent: it is about 50 feet in width, raised in the centre, and strengthened by ribs of stone crossing it at regular intervals. Property, under a despotic government, is not the object of a minute attention, and therefore there are no deviations in the straight line of its course. Some hundred labourers were at work upon it when we passed by, the task-master standing over them with the lash in his hand.

* Pliny particularly mentions this encroachment of the land on the northern side of the gulph of Ambracia. Hist. Nat. lib. ii.

CHAP. V.

ARTA — COMMERCE OF THE GULPH. — ROUTE TO CINQUE POZZI. — MINERALOGICAL REMARKS. — KHAN OF CINQUE POZZI. — TRIBE OF MIGRATORY SHEPHERDS. — APPROACH TO IOANNINA; AND VIEW OF THE CITY.

THE approach to Arta is beautiful. A mile from the city you cross the Aracthus, which forms a semi-circular sweep round it, by a bridge of remarkable construction. An arch, near one extremity, is projected to so great a height, as to render the ascent excessively steep; another, near the opposite extremity, is likewise projected above the rest, so as to form two elevations in the passage of the bridge. There is a great deal of wood in the vicinity of Arta; and its environs derive an additional effect from the relative situation of the mountains; which, rising a few miles to the north of the city; display in many places a singular abruptness of form, and a stratification of remarkable distinctness. A striking object in entering the place, was the ruin of an ancient Greek church, erected, it is said, in the time of Michael or Alexander Palæologus; the five domes of which give an air of magnificence to the building. Near this church is a seraglio, occupied occasionally by the Vizier in his journies to the coast. It is of the same construction as that of Salaora, but on a larger scale.

Uncertain where to obtain a lodging in the city, we went first to the custom-house, where an old Turkish officer, in a very obliging manner, gave us directions to the habitation of a Greek, who officiates as a sort of English agent in Arta. We found him a respectable and civil man. He invited us into his house, and gave us sweet-meats, coffee, and pipes in the manner of the country, while his servants were seeking a lodging for us. We obtained one in a house that was dark, dirty, and in the last stage of decay; but the people were studious to please us, and to render their habitation as comfortable as

was possible. Their extreme curiosity was our principal grievance; and the greater grievance, as they not only were determined to satisfy their own eyes, but also to fulfil the duties of friendship, in bringing all their acquaintance to witness the spectacle of our sitting, eating, writing, and going to bed. It was a Greek family, and all these spectators were of the same nation. The Turk would be too haughty, or too indolent to shew this species of curiosity, — nor is there indeed the same motive or opportunity for its exercise, since the custom of the East excludes the Frank from entering as a guest the house of a disciple of Mahomet. All the direct offices of hospitality in Turkey devolve, either from inclination or necessity, upon the Greek inhabitants of the country.

On a hill in the north-eastern quarter of the city, are the remains of the castle of Arta, a building which exhibits the massive stones of the ancient Greek architecture, connected with the more superficial structure of a Venetian, or perhaps a Catalan fortress. The ruins belonging to the former period clearly testify that some important place of strength anciently existed on this spot; and there are several circumstances which would lead to the conjecture, that it was Ambracus, or the fortress which Polybius describes as overhanging the ancient city of Ambracia *. Whether Arta be on the site of Ambracia or not, it is probable that the situation of the modern city was determined by that of the fortress, by the vicinity of the river, and by the extent and fertility of the surrounding plains. We find that it was a considerable city in the fourteenth century, when the second Andronicus Palæologus beseiged and took it, after a revolt of the inhabitants from his power †. Though declined in commercial importance since the Venetian establishments on this coast have been destroyed, it is still a place of considerable size, and possesses a valuable trade, derived

* Polyb. Hist. lib. iv. — Mr. Hobhouse has considered that the distance of Arta from the sea is an evidence that it cannot be the ancient Ambracia; but it must be recollected, that Pliny expressly mentions the fact of the sea having retired, or, as it may better be stated, of the land having gained several miles at the port of this city. Hist. Nat. lib. ii.

† Cantacuz. Hist. lib. ii. c. 34.

partly from the produce of the surrounding country, partly from being a depot of goods for the transit commerce of the interior of Albania. The population of Arta exceeds 6,000; it contains six mosques, and twenty-four Greek churches; and the Mahomedans are probably in the same ratio to the Christian population of the place. It is the seat of a Greek bishop, under whose diocese Ioannina was formerly included, though now itself constituted an arch-episcopal see. Neither is it long since the city and territory of Arta formed a distinct Pashalik under the Turkish empire, — a government, however, too near the ambitious Ali to be allowed an exemption from his rapidly-extending power. He made war upon the Pasha, subdued his territory, and, annexing it to his former dominions, received from the Porte a nominal and needless confirmation of his title to the conquest.

On the evening of our arrival at Arta, we visited the Bazars of the city, a name appropriated to that part of every Turkish town where are the shops of the merchants or dealers. In Arta it is limited chiefly to one street, but this of great length, and forming the central part of the city. The Greeks and Jews appeared to be the principal dealers. The shops in general are very small, but well provided with goods from the west of Europe; not indeed of the best quality, but more various in kind than I had expected to meet with in this place. It must be remarked, however, that there are many respectable Greek families in Arta, and that the situation and commerce of the city have always given it an intimate connection with Italy and other parts of Europe. Of this commerce I shall mention a few particulars, as the gulf of Arta may be considered the principal outlet for the southern part of Albania.

The principal articles of export from this gulph are grain, timber, oil, tobacco, cotton, and wool. The grain is chiefly wheat and Indian corn, of which upwards of fifty cargoes are now annually exported to various parts of Italy, the Ionian Isles, Malta, &c. By a misapprehension of the principles of commerce, the sale of corn is in great measure a monopoly in the hands of the Vizier; a circum-

stance which, I have reason to believe, has much interfered with the extension of this important branch of Albanian export. The forests on its southern shores supply the greater part of the timber which is exported from the gulph of Arta. For a considerable period, a French agent resided in Arta, with the important object of supplying timber by contract to the marine arsenals in the south of France; but since the death of M. Lasalle, in 1792, the war and other events have prevented the prosecution of this trade. The timber now cut is chiefly of smaller size; and of this, from 20 to 30 cargoes have of late been annually shipped from the gulph; the greater number of them to Malta, for building and fire-wood. The oil and tobacco exported from Arta are both reputed of very good quality; the latter being chiefly brought down from the plains in the upper part of Albania. Of the cotton and cotton yarn, a large proportion is conveyed hither from Thessaly; and exported principally to the German and Italian ports in the Adriatic. Besides the export of wool, there is a considerable trade in Albanian *capotes*, the manufacture of the country, to the amount probably of 150,000 piastres annually.

The imports into Arta, destined principally for transit to the interior of Albania, consist of coffee, sugar, common cloth, linen, velvets, gunpowder, fire-arms, iron-ware, with other miscellaneous articles. Until within the last few years, the mercantile connections of the place were chiefly with Greek houses at Trieste; and most of the goods imported were of German manufacture; but the late political fluctuations conveyed much of this trade to Maltese houses; and had the war continued, it is probable that the consumption of British manufactures, particularly of cloths, linen, and hard-ware, would have been considerably extended through this channel. It is likely also that the consumption of West-India coffee, in lieu of the Mocha, might have been increased here by the low prices which prevailed for some time, and the permanent demand thereby rendered more extensive.

We quitted Arta at noon on the 30th, having been detained some hours by a storm of thunder and heavy rain. Our first stage from Arta was to Cinque Pozzi, a distance of 20 or 22 miles, in a direction nearly towards the north. In Turkey there is no other method of estimating distances, than by the time occupied in travel; and accordingly you hear of one place being distant so many hours from another, or of a lake being two hours in length, with other similar expressions. The walking rate of the horses of the country is chosen as the most uniform and useful method of calculating the time; and this on the average may be three miles an hour, including all the circumstances of stoppage, and variety of road. We had some difficulty in obtaining horses at Arta, but at length procured eight, which we engaged to carry us to Ioannina, at the rate of ten piastres, or about ten shillings for each. They were of small size and in rude condition, but nevertheless hardy and accustomed to labour. Two of the number were loaded with our baggage, which was slung over the sides of a huge and awkward wooden frame or pack-saddle, and attached by cords. We had been careful to provide ourselves with European saddles, before entering upon the continent of Turkey; and there was reason to congratulate ourselves on this precaution, in viewing the uncouth machines used by the peasants for this purpose, (generally nothing more than a wooden frame with an Albanese *capote* thrown over it,) or even the more splendid, but little less cumbrous saddles of the Turks, which are always fatiguing to Europeans not accustomed to this mode of riding.

Half a mile from Arta, we again crossed to the western bank of the river by a ford, which was rendered deep and dangerous in consequence of the heavy rains that had fallen at intervals for some days past. Closely adjoining to this ford, the minaret of a Turkish mosque rises up from amidst a venerable grove of chesnut, plane, and cypress trees,—a spot singular in its beauty and picturesque character. For a few miles our route continued through the plain of Arta, in this place gradually narrowing into the valley of a

mountain stream, but still wonderfully fertile and luxuriant. The construction of the road, which was for the most part firmly, though very roughly paved, might not be despised by a traveller coming from Portugal and Sicily. It is the work of Ali Pasha, who in his efforts to improve the internal communication of the country, and to render travelling more easy as well as secure, has shewn an enlightened policy little known among the potentates of the East. Twenty, or even ten years ago, it was impossible to traverse Albania without much risk from the titled robbers or untitled banditti, who infested this region. The former have been subdued; the latter nearly extirpated by a vigorous military police; and at the present time, the powerful passport and protection of Ali afford the most effectual security to the traveller, throughout the whole of his extensive dominions.

Five or six miles from Arta, the road makes a rapid ascent into the mountains, following the course of the stream before-mentioned. In our progress we met or overtook numerous cavalcades of the Albanian peasantry; some of them with fifteen or twenty loaded horses, either conveying towards the sea the produce of the country, or carrying up to Ioannina, Maltese goods and other articles of import. The horses in these cavalcades were attached together by cords, one man on horseback generally conducting four or five of the number. We met also in our route vast flocks of sheep, descending from the mountain districts of Albania to pass the winter in the plains; the shepherds attending them singularly robust in figure, and not less remarkable for a certain wildness of dress, countenance, and manner, partly national and partly derived from their peculiar mode of life. In addition to these people, numerous Albanian soldiers of the Vizier were travelling upon the road, their loaded fusils carried transversely over the shoulders, their pistols and knives in the belt; the hood of their shaggy *capotes* occasionally thrown over the head, so as to shew indistinctly beneath, the dark and strongly featured visage, which might almost start the evening traveller in its aspect. Sometimes they addressed us with Καλως ορίζετε, a common mode of salutation in

Greece; but more frequently passed without speaking, and even without any expression of curiosity at the sight of strangers.

About eight miles from Arta, we passed the village of Kumeisathes, situated on a small plain among the mountains, and surrounded by wood. In the district belonging to this village, a considerable quantity of tobacco is grown, reputed to be of excellent quality. Beyond this place, we still continued the ascent of the mountains, enjoying some fine retrospective views of the plains and gulph of Arta. The lower part of the declivity of the hills in this stage is much covered with wood, chiefly the plane-tree, and varieties of oak. One species of the latter tree, which I observed here, I believe to be the *quercus cerris*, with broad, deeply-indented leaves, and a large acorn in a hairy cup: this tree furnishes a timber that is good both in size and quality. The Valonia oak (*quercus ægilops*) is also abundant in this district: this tree, in general, is not of a large size: the acorn is deeply set in a thick and scaly cup, which is the part employed for the purposes of dyeing. The export of Valonia acorns forms a considerable branch of commerce from various parts of Turkey.

At the distance of fifteen miles from Arta, we passed the Seraglio of Mouliana, a large edifice singularly situated among the mountains, where the Vizier occasionally passes the night on his journies to and from the coast. It was in this seraglio that he received and entertained Sir John Stewart, when that officer came over from Sicily to survey our recent acquisitions in the Ionian Sea, and to visit the extraordinary political character who had thus become our neighbour. The reception given to the General was equally courteous and splendid, and the interview had probably some effect in strengthening the political amity which has since subsisted between Ali Pasha and the English government.

The country about Mouliana, and between this place and Cinque Pozzi, is open, and has much of uncultivated wildness in its character. The mountains among which we had been ascending in this day's journey, are all composed of a compact limestone, which may be con-

sidered characteristic of a very large calcareous formation in Albania and other parts of Greece. The colour of the rock, in general, is nearly milk-white; the large fracture is flat-conchoidal; it is earthy in the small fracture. From examination, I do not believe it to contain magnesia; but there is probably a good deal of siliceous matter in its composition. The general appearance of this limestone strikingly corresponds with that in the north of Ireland; and I have seen much of it in Greece, which might almost obtain, without impropriety, the name of chalk. The extent of the formation will afterwards be noticed in different localities. Speaking generally, it may be considered to occupy the greater part of the interval between the chain of Pindus and the western coast of Greece; from the gulph of Corinth northwards to the ruins of Apollonia; and probably yet further. I have seen it also in the Morea, and in various places to the east of Pindus. Its usual character, on the great scale, is that of forming long continuous ridges, with level vallies or plains between; and this is a description of country very common both in Albania and in other parts of Gerece. These ridges in many places attain a height of from two to three thousand feet; in some instances they appear to be still more elevated. The stratification of the limestone is in general distinct; often very remarkably so; the strata occasionally much inclined (as between Arta and Cinque Pozzi), and sometimes exhibiting very singular wavings and contortions.

The organic remains in this rock are few and indistinct. A striking feature in the formation is the quantity of flint it contains; either in the form of nodules, or much more frequently in layers, of various thickness, alternating with those of limestone. This appearance is common in every part of the formation. It first struck me in ascending the hills from Arta; and I shall hereafter have occasion to notice it in various localities. I shall also speak in another place of the large deposits of gypsum which have taken place upon this limestone, particularly near the coasts of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas.

We arrived at Cinque Pozzi as the shades of a cold and stormy evening were drawing fast around us. The character of this spot was

not fitted to remove any impressions of dreariness, produced by the time, and the temperature of the sky. A groupe of low and ill-constructed buildings, situated on a high level among the mountains, and surrounded by rocks, formed the only appearance of human habitation in the scenery. It was a Khan, the place of public entertainment for travellers in Turkey, which we entered for the first time in the rude and dreary situation of Cinque Pozzi; and the impressions we received from the exterior were not alleviated when passing through its wide gates into a square court within: we were conducted into a small hovel, with bare mud walls, no windows, no fire, and the flooring none other than the naked earth. There were unquestionably better apartments in the Khan, but these, as we found, were occupied by some Turks who had arrived there before us; and we were not sufficiently acquainted with the habits of the country to obviate any incidental grievances of this nature. Signore Zavò was equally ignorant as ourselves, and every thing was committed to Demetrius, who having procured with difficulty some firewood and a small quantity of mutton, prepared a supper for us in our wretched apartment. We spread our beds around the embers of the fire, and went to sleep in spite of the songs and loud talk of some Albanese peasants, who were lodged in an adjoining part of the building.

Cinque Pozzi, or Πεντε Πηγάδια, as the Greeks call it, is so named from five circular wells close to the Khan. It is the highest point of level which the road attains between Arta and Ioannina, and is nearly at an equal distance from each of these places. An Albanian officer of the Vizier's, with a few soldiers, resides at this spot for the purpose of guarding the pass, and of collecting a small toll. From some barometrical observations in my possession, I have reason to believe that Cinque Pozzi is 1,500 or 1,600 feet above the level of the sea, but the landscape around it presents on almost every side mountain ranges of much greater elevation. Of these we had a magnificent yet dreary view, when we quitted our hovel on the morning of the 31st.; the storms of the night, attended by a cold which lowered

my thermometer to 42° at eight A.M., had covered all the loftier mountains with snow; and we now saw them, under a cloudless and frosty sky, with a remarkable distinctness of form and outline. To the north-west was the extremity of the elevated range called Olitzka; to the north-east, and nearer to us, the broad mountain mass said to be called Skrivari; between which and the precipitous range of Tzumerka, the river of Arta pursues its course southwards to the plains. To the west, looking over a profound valley which lay beneath us, we saw, in the distance, the lofty summits of the Sali mountains, a region which will long be celebrated in the tales of Albania, as the abode of a small but warlike race, who, after long maintaining their freedom, and struggling for many years against the power of Ali Pasha, did but surrender their liberties with their lives, and became extinct as a people when they ceased to be free. The rest of the landscape around us was occupied by a thousand varieties of hill and valley, which were just beginning to derive their shades from the morning sun. This mountainous country to the west of us was the Thesprotia of former times, one of the principal divisions of ancient Epirus. Of the journey I made through this region, an account will be given in the latter part of this volume.

We left Cinque Pozzi at eight o'clock, after several parties of Turks and Albanians had already quitted the Khan. The route from hence to Ioannina, a journey of six or seven hours, was extremely interesting. Descending for some way from the Khan, we continued our progress a few miles along a narrow plain, still on a high level, but cultivated throughout the greater part of its extent. Several small hamlets appeared in the landscape, though not sufficiently numerous or extensive to give it the appearance of a well-peopled country. When advanced eight or nine miles in our journey, and crossing another ridge of high and broken land, we were highly interested in a spectacle, which, by a fortunate incident, occurred to our notice. We met on the road a community of migrating shepherds, a wandering people of the mountains of Albania, who in the summer feed their flocks in these hilly regions, and in the winter spread them-

over the plains in the vicinity of the gulph of Arta, and along other parts of the coast. The many large flocks of sheep we had met the day before, belonged to these people, and were preceding them to the plains. The cavalcade we now passed through was nearly two miles in length, with few interruptions. The number of horses with the emigrants might exceed a thousand; they were chiefly employed in carrying the moveable habitations, and the various goods of the community, which were packed with remarkable neatness and uniformity. The infants and smaller children were variously attached to the luggage, while the men, women, and elder children travelled for the most part on foot; a healthy and masculine race of people, but strongly marked by the wild and uncouth exterior connected with their manner of life. The greater part of the men were clad in coarse, white woollen garments; the females in the same material, but more variously coloured, and generally with some ornamented lacing about the breast. Their petticoats scarcely reached below the knee, shewing nearly the whole length of the stockings, which were made of woollen threads of different colours, red, orange, white, and yellow. Almost all the young women and children wore upon the head a sort of chaplet, composed of piastres, paras, and other silver coins, strung together, and often suspended in successive rows, so as to form something like a cap. The same coins were attached to other parts of the garments, and occasionally with some degree of taste. Two priests of the Greek church were with the emigrants, and closed the long line of their procession.

These migratory tribes of shepherds are chiefly from the mountainous districts, which in their continuity form the great chain of Pindus, traversing the country very far from north to south, with many collateral branches. The people whom we now met were reported to us to be of two different tribes, one of which had already been travelling for eight or ten days. They generally come down from the mountains about the latter end of October, and return thither from the plains in April, after disposing of a certain proportion of their sheep and horses. In travelling, they pass the night

on the plains or open lands; arrived at the place of their destination, they construct their little huts or tents of the materials they carry with them, assisted by the stones, straw, or earth which they find on the spot. Such is the simple life of the migrating shepherds of Albania!

Before we had passed this long moving train, we began our descent into the extended plain, or series of plains, in which is situated the modern metropolis of this country, the capital and residence of Ali Pasha. It is not, however, a descent corresponding to the rise of level from Arta. The plain of Ioannina has an elevation of more than 1,000 feet above the sea; and in entering it from the south, you do but descend for a quarter of an hour, before coming upon this new level of country. A short way beyond the foot of this hill, and the first building on the plain, is the Khan of San Demetri, where we stopped half an hour, while the men who travelled with us made a meal on bread, goat's milk cheese, and wine. This Khan in appearance resembles that of Cinque Pozzi; an arched gateway conducting into an area, round which is a square of low buildings, rudely constructed, and divided into stables and apartments for travellers, the latter equally dark and destitute of all internal comforts as the former. Nothing is to be found in these places of entertainment but the simplest articles of food, fire-wood, and straw mats for the traveller to repose on during the night. The Khan of San Demetri is distant about ten miles from Ioannina, the direction of the road continuing nearly from south to north. Our journey was now over a tract of extended plain, gradually widening as we advanced northwards, but limited on each side by mountain barriers, so lofty and precipitous, that much of its real breadth was lost in the general effect of the landscape. The great chain of Pindus now appeared in all its majesty of height and outline, not indeed rising immediately from the plain, but towering behind an intermediate mountain range, and deriving thence still more of grandeur to the imagination. This formed the eastern boundary of the landscape; while on the western side, the view was limited by the chain of Olitzka,

perhaps the Cassiopean mountains of ancient times, more graceful and picturesque in their outline, yet majestic in height and in their rapid declivity towards the plain. The enjoyment of this scene was increased by the intense clearness of this sky, and by that peculiarity of sensation which health derives from a frosty temperature, a sensation which, but for a few hours on the summit of Etna, had been unknown to me since crossing the Bay of Biscay: contrasted with the enervating heats of a Portuguese or Sicilian summer, it may well be called a luxury of feeling.

We advanced over the plains as rapidly as was possible from the nature of the road, which is here unpaved, and in many places interrupted by deep hollows and ditches. The population became much more considerable as we proceeded, and numerous villages were seen on the small eminences which rise out of the plain. The culture of the land also bore marks of improvement, and we passed over large tracts, chiefly occupied in the growth of Indian corn; in which, though the harvest was now completed, the peasants were here and there still employed in gathering the ears from the ground. There are no inclosures in the plain, though narrow trenches traverse it in various directions, apparently for the purpose of distinguishing property. There is a deficiency of wood in the whole of the landscape; but perhaps, as a matter of general taste, this deficiency is less felt where the scenery is on so vast a scale, than where more narrow and limited in its features.

Knowing our vicinity to Ioannina, we were now impatient to obtain the first view of that city, which is long concealed from the eye by the low eminences traversing the plain. At length, when little more than two miles distant, the whole view opened suddenly before us; a magnificent scene, and one that is still almost single in my recollection. A large lake spreads its waters along the base of a lofty and precipitous mountain, which forms the first ridge of Pindus on this side, and which, as I had afterwards reason to believe, attains an elevation of more than 2,500 feet above the level of the plain. Opposed to the highest summit of this mountain, and to a

H.Holland.del. G.Cooke.sculp.

Joannina from the North.

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small island which lies at its base, a peninsula stretches forwards into the lake from its western shore, terminated by a perpendicular face of rock. This peninsula forms the fortress of Ioannina; a lofty wall is its barrier on the land side; the waters which lie around its outer cliffs, reflect from their surface, the irregular yet splendid outline of a Turkish Seraglio, and the domes and minarets of two Turkish mosques, environed by ancient cypresses. The eye, receding backwards from the fortress of the peninsula, reposes upon the whole extent of the city, as it stretches along the western borders of the lake. Repose, indeed, it may not unfitly be called, since both the reality and the fancy combine in giving to the scenery the character of a vast and beautiful picture spread out before the sight. No volumes of smoke, nor even the sounds of carriages and men, break into this description of the distant view; the tranquillity of the Turkish character is conveyed to the Turkish city also, and even to the capital of the chief who governs the warlike and half-civilized Albanian tribes. You are not here looking upon a lengthened and uniform mass of buildings, so often the only characteristic of an European town; but there is before the eye a variety and a richness in the grouping of the objects, which is peculiarly the feature in the cities of the East. The lofty palaces of the Vizier and of his sons, the minarets of numerous mosques, each surrounded by its grove of cypresses, which give something of appropriate sanctity to the place; the singular intermixture of houses and trees throughout every part of the city, a circumstance more striking from the want of wood in the general landscape; these, together with the noble situation on the lake, and the magnificence of the surrounding mountains, are the features which will most impress the stranger in approaching the capital of Ali Pasha. Yet I must add, further, that the entrance to Ioannina from the south is less favourable than the approaches to the city from the north and west, and were it the aim of any traveller to seek a moment of sudden admiration, I should advise him to gain the road of Paramithia, which may be done by making a short

detour on the plain, when yet two or three miles distant from the town.

We reached Ioannina at four in the afternoon. We were provided with letters to the Vizier; one of them private, the others official from the government of the Ionian Isles; and had also letters to Signore Colovo, the principal *dragoman*, or interpreter, of his court. On the security of these letters, we had sent a man forwards from Cinque Pozzi to intimate our arrival to Colovo, and to beg that he would procure some place of abode for us in Ioannina. Not meeting this messenger at the spot we had appointed, we entered the city, and passing through streets which ill-accorded with the impression derived from the exterior magnificence of the place, halted at the *dogana*, or custom-house, till we might ascertain the success of our application to the *dragoman*. The messenger arrived soon afterwards, bringing us a polite message from Signore Colovo, to say that he had already intimated our arrival to the Vizier, who had appointed us a lodging in the city; and adding that he would call upon us in the evening, when released from his duties at the Seraglio. We were immediately conducted to our appointed place of residence; the house of Michael Metzou, one of the wealthiest and most respectable among the Greek inhabitants of Ioannina. The reception we met with from our host and family, was polite and hospitable. They conducted us to a large apartment, richly furnished according to the fashion of the country; and with many expressions of kindness, which we were yet obliged to receive through the medium of an interpreter, welcomed us to their house, and begged that it should be considered our own during the residence we made in Ioannina. The same expressions I had often heard in Sicily, where they are but words of form; here they might possibly arise from necessity, but there was something in the manner which assured us that it was otherwise, and we afterwards found that this first impression was not without reason.

CHAP. VI.

ALBANIA — GENERAL OUTLINE OF THIS COUNTRY. — ORIGIN AND DIVISIONS OF THE ALBANIAN TRIBES — THEIR GENERAL HISTORY. — SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND PROGRESS OF ALI PASHA — EXTENT OF HIS DOMINION, MILITARY POWER, AND REVENUES.

BEFORE proceeding with the narrative of my residence at Ioannina, I shall detain the attention of the reader by a brief sketch of the life and present dominion of the extraordinary man who governs this part of European Turkey; and who, during the twenty years of confusion and warfare that have agitated the nations of Europe, has been gradually augmenting his territory, and giving both stability and independence to his power. My own information, indeed, does not enable me to add to the history of Ali Pasha all the details which might be desired by those who love to trace the causes and means of political elevation. Few written records exist of these events, and the tales and songs of the country are at present almost the only sources from which to obtain a knowledge of his early life and fortunes. His vengeance has indeed affixed melancholy memorials to some incidents of his past history, but the connection of occurrences is obscure, and his own policy has probably led to the concealment of many of the means which have most aided his progress. The only narrative, as far as I know, which has been composed of his history, is a poem of eight cantos, written by an Albanian in rude and untutored Romaic verse. This poem, which professes the Epic style, is yet in manuscript; but it has received the approbation and license of the Vizier, and directions have been given for its publication at the press of Vienna. It will be a curious record of the intestine revolutions which in these later times have affected the ancient kingdom of Pyrrhus, and the country of Scanderbeg.

The creation of an independent power in the midst of its territory, is no new or extraordinary fact in the Turkish empire; and its annals exhibit many instances, more especially in the Asiatic provinces, of the Pashas or governors throwing off their allegiance, and maintaining a sovereignty, which relapsed again after their death to the dominion of the Porte. The causes of these double revolutions may be found in the nature of the Turkish provincial government; and their usual manner of termination may be referred in part to the character of the Turkish nation, partly to the two-fold capacity of the Sultan, as the political ruler of the empire, and the head of the Mussulman religion. Though some of these partial independencies have more nearly menaced the safety of the capital and government, none of them perhaps have attained the stability and extent of power which characterizes the government of Ali Pasha; nor has any one acquired the same importance in the political condition of Europe. His dominion has been derived, not from any transient effort of revolution, but from a slow and persevering system of agrandizement, and a policy compounded of caution and enterprize, which has given pretence to usurpation and permanence to conquest. While preserving, without any serious interruption, the appearances of amity with the Porte; while subsidizing her armies with his warlike Albanians, and her coffers with his treasures; he has by degrees become more formidable to the integrity of the Turkiih empire than those who have insulted the gates of Constantinople with their armies, or hurled the reigning Sultan from his throne.

Before I speak further of the life or government of Ali Pasha, it may be well to prepare the reader by a few facts respecting the general outline of Albania and its population; the rather so, as this country and people have hitherto been comparatively little known to the west of Europe. Latterly, indeed, the valuable works of Mr. Hobhouse, and Major Leake, have greatly illustrated this subject; and to the latter work, the result of many years' research, I should find it impossible to add any thing new. Referring the reader for details to its very accurate information, I shall merely give here a short

sketch, such as may serve to illustrate the succeeding parts of this volume.

Albania, as a country, cannot be defined by any strict line of boundary; but it is rather determined in its outline by the language and other characters of the population. The country around Ioannina, and even Acarnania, though inhabited chiefly by Greeks, are often spoken of under this name; and at present, when annexed to the power of an Albanian ruler, not entirely without reason. Correctly speaking, however, according to the distribution of population, Albania occupies a tract of coast, beginning by a narrow line in the Suli Mountains, to the north of the gulph of Arta, and extending northwards, with increasing but uncertain width, to the country of the Montenegrins, a distance of nearly 250 miles. Following this boundary, Ioannina falls 20 miles to the south-east of this line; and this distinction will be found generally recognized by the Albanians themselves.

The population of Albania, as generally happens in hilly regions, and was remarkably the case in this country in ancient times, is broken into several tribes; which division, from the exact manner in which it is determined among the natives, may be supposed to have existed for a very long period. The Gheghides, the Liapides, Liutzides, Toskides, Tzamides, and other smaller or subordinate tribes, have all distinctions, which are familiar to the knowledge of every Albanian; who recognizes them, as well by variety of dialect, as by their several localities. Of the respective situations of some of them I shall have to speak in a succeeding part of my narrative. To enter minutely into the detail of such divisions, which are unknown beyond the country itself, would be uninteresting to the reader. *

The principal cities of Albania, exclusively of Ioannina and Arta, are Scutari, Durazzo, Berat, Avlona, Ochrida, Kastoria, Argyro-

* The Clementini, one of the tribes in the north of Albania, are said to be descended from the Albanians who followed the Austrian army in Turkey in 1737. — See Adelung's General History of Languages.

Kastro, Delvino, Permeti, Paramithia, &c. Though I have frequently termed Ali Pasha the Vizier of Albania, it must be noticed that all the tract described under this name has not fallen within his power; and that the city of Durazzo, together with the whole Pashalik of Scutari, belong to other authorities. Berat, Argyro-Kastro, and other of the places just mentioned, have only lately been annexed to his territory, to which they form an addition of very great political importance.

The discovery, for such it may almost be called, of a people in the mountainous districts of Illyricum and Macedonia, and in some parts of the ancient Epirus, who were distinct in language, dress, and national customs, has naturally excited attention as to the source whence they are derived. The existence of many Latin words in the language, together with the name of the people, have led some to the idea, that a tribe, migrating from Alba in Italy, founded the city of Albanopolis in Illyricum; the place from which the history and progress of the Albanians seem to begin. From the difficulty of proving this, and from there being many words of unknown radical in the language, it has been supposed by others (though I believe, by very few), that they may have been derived, through some obscure channel of emigration, from the Albani of Asia, mentioned by Tacitus and other writers, who seem to have inhabited the modern district of Shirvan *. Words of Greek and Gothic origin, however, also exist in the Albanese language; and from these several additions which have been made to a base, unknown elsewhere, it may be inferred with most reason, that the Albanians are directly descended from the original population of the country where they now dwell, and that we have

* Masci, a Neapolitan writer, held, I believe, some idea of this kind; but I have not had the opportunity of seeing his work. I have heard an analogy referred to between the name of Toskides, one of the Albanian tribes, and the Toxidæ, a people of Mingrelia, mentioned by Chardin. A vague relation of this kind cannot admit of being reasoned upon. Justin (xlii. 3.) speaks of the Albani of the East as having come from Italy with Hercules.

in this people a remnant of the ancient Illyrians; preserved to these later times by the mountainous character of their country, and by the warlike and independent habits which have always distinguished them. We sufficiently know from ancient authors, that the Illyrian language was distinct from the Greek at a very early period, and that the people were peculiar in their character and customs. Unless we have a remnant of this tongue in the Albanian, it must be supposed entirely lost; while presuming it to be the basis of the modern language, it is easy to account for the changes and additions which time and the intermixture of other people have induced upon it. *

Major Leake, in his remarks on Greece, has maintained this idea of the Illyrian descent of the Albanians; and I think has entirely proved the truth of the opinion †. We have no account from history of the extinction of the Illyrians, nor have we any of the entrance of a new tribe, which has grown up into the modern community of Albanians. The Byzantine historians, to whom we principally owe the narrative of the progress of this people, bring them out at once as the inhabitants of a part of the region in which they now dwell; the high country on the frontiers of Illyricum and Macedonia; and characterize them by a description, which applies alike to their present state and to that of the ancient Illyrians. I should be disposed, then, to consider this historical point of the origin of the Albanians as nearly settled; and so settled, as to give additional interest to the examination of a people who have descended from distant times, with fewer changes perhaps in their situation and habits of life than almost any other community in Europe. ‡

* On the almost unknown subject of the Albanian language, I cannot do other than refer the reader to the work of Major Leake, already mentioned; where he will find both a grammar and vocabulary of the language, drawn up with singular care and accuracy.

† I have perused an ingenious MS. memoir, in support of the same opinion, by Signore Vecilli, a native of the country.

‡ Chalcocondylas, (lib. i.) seems to oppose the idea that the Albani were the ancient Illyrians. The early mention of the name by Ptolemy, as applied to a people in Illyria, is certainly much in favour of the opinion.

The history of the Albanians, since they obtained this name, affords few events that would be interesting beyond the limits of the country. During the eleventh century, they bore a part in some of the wars of the Greek empire. In the times of the separate principality, which under the name of Acarnania or Ætolia was established in this part of Greece, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, we find them extending themselves by a predatory warfare; and notwithstanding a powerful expedition against them by the second Andronicus, about the middle of the fourteenth century, they spread themselves at intervals over the whole of Epirus, Thessaly, &c.* Their resistance to the Turkish conquerors, who soon afterwards poured themselves into Greece, has been enobled by the history of the celebrated George Castrioti, commonly known by the name of Scanderbeg, whose resolute bravery maintained a protracted warfare against those invaders of his country. The circumstances which long gave effect to this resistance, have prevented the Turks from ever permanently maintaining their authority in the country. Their influence, indeed, has been sufficient to make nominal converts to the Mussulman religion, a large part of the Albanian population; but this effect upon a wild, untutored, and ambitious community does not prove a great extent of power. The Albanians, it is further true, have been made subservient to the military purposes of different Turkish rulers; but from their military prowess they have themselves gained power, and have produced, as at this time, men who, aided by the bravery of their countrymen, have acquired supremacy over both Turks and Greeks, and made themselves formidable in the very heart of the empire†. The history of events in Albania, from the period of the Turkish conquest until the time of Ali Pasha's elevation, affords little that is interesting or

* Of this expedition, Cantacuzene gives a detailed narrative. Hist. lib. ii. c. 34.

† The revolution effected at Constantinople in 1730, by the agency of an Albanian called Ghalil, or Patrona, is well known from the accurate narrative of Lord Sandwich. This Albanian, for a considerable time, was absolute master of Constantinople.

important. It would be little more than a picture of internal wars, which might be considered trifling, but for the barbarities which often occurred in their progress.

Ali Pasha was born, as I believe, about the year 1750 or 1751, at Tepeleni, a small town of Albania, 75 miles to the north of Ioannina. His father, Veli Pasha, resided at this place as the governor of the adjacent district; but his territory was small, and his power inconsiderable. He died when his son Ali Bey was not more that 15 or 16 years of age, but left him a protector in his mother, who appears to have been a woman of undaunted resolution, and above the reach of those prejudices of custom, which in Turkey enfeeble all the faculties and powers of action in the female sex. The mother of Ali, indeed, was of Albanian birth, and she lived in a country, the hardy and warlike population of which was perpetually exercised in internal feuds. At that period, as I have just mentioned, Albania was divided among a number of separate Pashas and chieftains, whose authority was generally derived from usurpation or conquest, and who were almost constantly engaged in war for the purpose of supporting or extending their power. Some of these Pashas, as those of Berat, Ioannina, Delvino, &c. possessed a considerable territory, and a strong military force. But the greater number of the Albanese chieftains were rather the leaders of banditti than the authorized governors of the country; even many towns and villages assumed a sort of separate independence, and carried on their petty contests with the same rancour which belongs to the warfare of nations. In the mountainous districts of Albania, more particularly, the sovereign authority of the Porte was scarcely even known as a name; and the hardy natives of Suli, and of the mountains of Chimarra, maintained a freedom which history might have celebrated, had they not sullied it by a predatory manner of life, which compels us to class them rather as mountain-banditti than communities of independent people.

It required all the resolution of the mother of Ali to maintain her son's rights, in a country thus lawless and turbulent. His father's

death left him with feeble means of defence, and exposed to the attacks of the neighbouring chieftains, who wished to avail themselves of his youth to dispossess him of his territory. Little can now be learned with certainty of these trifling contests, but it is related by those who recollect the time, that notwithstanding all the efforts of his mother, who herself marched, with a fusil in her hand, at the head of his few but faithful adherents, Ali Bey was obliged to fly from Tepeleni, and to relinquish his birth-place to his enemies. At the time of this flight, it is said that his circumstances were so destitute, that he had not more than 40 paras in the world. When travelling through the district of Lopesi, to the north of Tepeleni, early in the year 1813, I slept in the house of an Albanese Mussulman, who told me, that on the very same couch Ali Bey had passed the night 42 years before, at a time when he was alone, destitute, and seeking concealment from his foes. During the same period of Ali's life an event occurred, which is chiefly interesting from the consequences that have followed it in later times. Amongst other enemies of his youth were the inhabitants of Gardiki, a city about 18 miles distant from Tepeleni; the population of which was entirely Mussulman, though principally of Albanese descent. The people of this place laid a plan for surprizing the young Ali in a village, where he happened to be at this time, together with his mother and sister. They surrounded the village in the night with their troops: Ali escaped with difficulty through a garden, but his mother and sister were made prisoners and carried to Gardiki. According to one narrative I have heard, a barrel of gunpowder had been placed under the spot where the young Bey was accustomed to pass the night, with the intention of destroying him. He escaped, either by accident or from a suspicion of the design; but one of his companions, who lay near him, is said to have been killed by the explosion. His mother and sister were detained as prisoners during 40 days, and treated with every circumstance of indignity and outrage, an offence which has never passed away from the memory of Ali Pasha. A dreadful massacre, the particulars of which will afterwards be related, has

lately attested the degree of his insatiable hatred to the people of Gardiki, and left a monument of family vengeance, such as modern times have not often exhibited.

It is difficult to connect the several occurrences in this part of Ali's life, but it would appear, that, having contrived to re-assemble some Albanian troops, he obtained advantages over the enemies of his house, and regained possession of Tepeleni. At this period, Coul Pasha of Berat was one of the most considerable men in this part of Turkey, governing a large district of country around this city, and commanding a large body of troops. In what year I am not certain, but probably when he was about 20 years of age, Ali Bey entered into the military service of this Pasha, carrying with him the followers who were attached to his person. He is said at this time to have been one of the handsomest men of the country, with a robustness of body which had been alike formed and exercised by the preceding events of his life*. At Berat, the merits and address of the young Albanian chieftain were speedily observed, but his ambitious talent became also the object of attention and alarm; and it was strongly recommended to Coul Pasha, by those around him, either to give his daughter in marriage to Ali Bey as a security, or to sacrifice the young man to his apprehensions. The former counsel was rejected; whether any direct attempt was made upon the life of Ali I am not informed, but probably he considered himself in personal danger, as it appears that soon afterwards he fled in great haste from Berat; and carrying with him only a few of his faithful attendants, crossed the chain of Pindus into Thessaly, where he remained some time in concealment. It is likely that his ambitious spirit had already prompted him to some enterprize against Coul Pasha, which accident disconcerted, and brought to light.

* Biornstahl, the Swedish traveller, who was at Trikala in 1770, mentions, that an Albanian chieftain, called Ali Bey, had taken that city the same year,—a young man, but powerful, wealthy, and of great reputation among the Albanians.

Soon after this, though from what causes I am not informed, he seems to have been reconciled to Coul Pasha, whose daughter he married. His two eldest sons, Mouctar and Veli, were the offspring of this connection, which probably was the means of considerably increasing his power. He still, however, continued only a petty Albanian leader, till a sudden and successful enterprize against Ioannina, which at this time was feebly governed by its Pasha, gave a name and character to his dominion. He was recognized by the Porte as Pasha of this city and district, and he made a vigorous use of the new means it afforded him of extending his power. He gained possession without much difficulty of the Pashalik of Arta, which increased his resources by its productive plains, and the access it afforded to the sea. Many of the Albanian tribes and districts successively yielded to him, either subdued by force, or influenced by money, of which he never spared the use. His territory, however, at this time, and indeed until within the last few years, was of the most irregular kind. Acquired progressively, by detached portions, and with different titles, it was scarcely even continuous in extent, but rather an assemblage of separate districts, cities, and towns, submitted, some with more, others with less freedom, to the power of their new master.

The views of Ali extended themselves towards Thessaly; and his hardy Albanians pouring down from the passes of Pindus, traversed with ease the great plains of this country, inhabited by a people of less warlike habits than themselves. A very important step in his progress, both here and in other parts of Greece, was his being appointed some years afterwards by the Porte, Derveni-Pasha of Roumelia. This office, which is that of guardian of all the passes of the country, enabled him to assume a military command, which he did not fail to render subservient to his political views.

Early in 1798, we find him as one of the Pashas who marched on behalf of the Porte against Paswan Oglou of Widin. He commanded the second corps of the army in the unfortunate attack upon the city,

and for his services on this occasion was made Vizier or Pasha of three tails.

His father-in-law and former master, Coul Pasha, had now been dead some time, and Ibrahim was the present Pasha of Berat and Avlona. With this chieftain Ali speedily provoked a quarrel; but possibly at this time he found his adversary too strong, and deemed it better policy to make peace, and to contract marriages for his sons Mouctar and Veli with the daughters of Ibrahim. About the same period, the latter end of 1798, we find him taking Prevesa from the French, which was followed by the reduction of Vonitza, and the remainder of Karlili or Acarnania. Paramithia, and its fertile plains, fell into his power after a short contest, and his territory extended itself in various points towards to the Ionian Sea. The mountains of Suli, however, still resisted his power, and their hardy inhabitants made occasional incursions even towards the plains of Ioannina. An irregular contest of nearly sixteen years was terminated ten years ago, by his occupying the whole of this region, and destroying or expelling every part of its population.

His authority continued to extend and confirm itself progressively on every side. Various large cantons of Macedonia were submitted to his power, and in his office of Derveni-Pasha, his Albanian troops were stationed, almost on the very frontiers of the ancient Attica. The last event of importance, previously to our arrival at Ioannina, had been a second war with Ibrahim Pasha; protracted for a long time, but finally ended by the discomfiture of Ibrahim, who was himself made prisoner, and the whole of his extensive and fertile Pashalik transferred to the power of Ali Pasha. This event, which was accomplished by the conjoint aid of arms and money, took place in the latter part of 1811, about the same time that hostilities ceased between the Turks and Russians upon the Danube. Mahomet Pasha of Delvino had been an ally of Ibrahim. The downfall of one was connected with that of the other, and Ali possessed himself of the fine country between Argyro-Kastro and Tepeleni, and the coast of the Adriatic. The large city of Argyro-Kastro fell into his hands

nearly at the same time; Gardiki was subdued and annihilated as a city, and various other towns were added to his dominion in the adjoining district of country. The Pashas of Berat and Delvino were conveyed to Ioannina, and imprisoned there: little was known of their circumstances or fate. These events, which might be considered as adding a population of from 200,000 to 300,000 souls to the dominion of the Vizier, had been terminated only in the spring of 1812. We arrived at Ioannina in the autumn of the same year.

Such has been the progress of this extraordinary man to his present elevation and power. Though it may oblige me to premise several circumstances, I shall now endeavour to give the reader some idea of his actual political situation, and of the nature of his government, leaving it to the progress of my narrative to illustrate his personal character and habits, and the particular effects of his government upon the situation of the people he commands.

The territory now subject to the dominion of Ali Pasha may be defined on its northern side by a line drawn eastwards from the vicinity of Durazzo on the Adriatic, traversing the continent obliquely to the head of the gulph of Saloniki, and including within it's limit, Ochrida, Kastoria, and other inland towns, situated on the territory of the ancient Macedonia *. The line of coast followed southwards from Durazzo, along the shores of the Adriatic and Ionian Sea, and afterwards along the gulph of Corinth, nearly to its upper extremity, will give the western and southern boundaries of his dominions, while the eastern is formed by the coast of the Archipelago, and of the gulph of Zeitun, connected with a line which traverses the country from Thermopylæ to the gulph of Corinth, passing a little to the west of Thebes. Defining this extent of territory according to the classical divisions of antiquity, it may be said to comprehend the whole of Epirus, the southern part of Illyricum, a large portion of Macedonia, nearly the whole of Thessaly, Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, and a con-

* The eastern part of this line of boundary may perhaps nearly coincide with the *Via Ignatia* of antiquity; the great road which conducted from Apollonia into Macedonia and Thrace.

siderable part of ancient Bœotia. It must be remarked, however, that the authority of Ali Pasha is by no means equally absolute or ascertained throughout this dominion. In Albania, comprehending under this name all the western part of his territory, and that most valuable from its military resources, he is despotic in an unlimited sense of the word. In Thessaly, and the south-eastern part of his territory, his power is of a more controlled nature; his office of Derveni-Pasha in these provinces is the only one permanently recognized by the Porte; and though possessing, in fact, all the military and civil authority of the country, and his name superseding that of the Sultan, he is nevertheless obliged to exercise these powers with some degree of reserve: it is on this side that he is most open to any sudden effort of the Turkish government. In Albania he derives security from the mountainous barriers of the country, and from a population of armed men; but to Thessaly and his dominions on that quarter, there are approaches, by which a superior force might overrun and for a time occupy the country.

Besides this more general limitation to the power of Ali Pasha, there are many other local varieties in his authority, owing to the former separation of the districts and cities which he has combined under one dominion, and to the different means he has employed in effecting this end. Some districts have been acquired by conquest; others by surrender on terms; others again by grant from the Porte, as a compensation for real or alledged services; and the degree of his influence, though every-where tending towards the equality of perfect despotism, is somewhat modified by these circumstances. It may be remarked farther, that no distinct boundary can be assigned to his dominion, where it is not actually limited by the sea. His personal character, political adroitness, and large military force, give him a preponderating influence in most of the governments which adjoin his own territory; and he is felt far beyond the line which limits his power to the eye. It is fortunate for the Porte, that this almost insensible extension of authority is limited, on the side of Constantinople, by the government of Ishmael Bey, of Seres; whose activity

has hitherto succeeded in arresting in this quarter the career of Ali Pasha.

The tenure on which the Vizier of Albania holds his dominions may be understood in part from the preceding narrative of his life. In its details, it is one which could scarcely exist but under the motley and irregular outline of the Turkish empire. On the part of the Porte, his titles are recognized as having been derived from the Sultan; and much also of the authority which he has connected with these titles, has been nominally confirmed to him after the possession was already obtained. On the other side, Ali Pasha makes a *pro formâ* recognition of the authority of the Porte, in receiving the annual Firman of the Sultan; and sends very considerable sums to Constantinople, as the payment of the Karach, or Christian capitation tax, and as the rents of imposts, which are farmed for certain parts of his dominions: but beyond this, the relation between sovereign and subject disappears. In the internal government of his dominions, and in his connection with foreign states, Ali Pasha possesses and exercises a perfect independence. He levies or disbands his armies, makes wars or alliances with the neighbouring governments, regulates the taxes and commercial duties of his dominions, and governs, in his judicial capacity, without the possibility of appeal. He maintains at Constantinople a number of agents, Greeks as well as Turks, who support his influence in the Divan, and forward the progress of his political views. Residents from England, France, and Russia, are established at his own court; and he is engaged in a regular and independent political correspondence with these and others of the powers of Europe and Africa. He is said, but I know not with what truth, to have had an agent at Tilsit, when the treaty between Russia and France was in the progress of transaction there. His political information is generally of the most exact kind, and obtained with so much promptitude, that Ioannina often becomes the channel through which both Constantinople and the Ionian Isles are informed of events taking place in the centre of Europe.

Of the amount of the military force by which this system of power is maintained, it is impossible to speak with precision. On this subject, there is a strong tendency to exaggeration throughout Turkey at large. An Albanian, if you should enquire from him what number of troops Ali Pasha could bring into the field, will generally speak of 100,000, or a still greater number; and even the more intelligent Greek of Ioannina will frequently rate them at 50,000 or 60,000 men. Both these statements are much above the reality; but nevertheless, it would be difficult to assign a precise limit to the military resources of a country, in many districts of which the whole adult male population may instantly become soldiers, and where warfare has hitherto been less a profession than a permanent habit of life to the community. When Ali Pasha marched to the assistance of the Porte against Paswan Oglou, it is said that he carried with him 15,000 troops. I have been informed that the same number (including Veli Pasha's Albanese soldiers from the Morea) accompanied his sons Mouctar and Veli to the Danube, in the late campaign against the Russians; and in the wars arising from his own schemes of conquest, it is probable that he has occasionally employed an equal amount of force. Subsequently to these events, the successful termination of his war with Ibrahim Pasha, and the conquest of Argyro-Kastro, Delvino, and other governments, had added greatly to the extent of his territory; and this in a part of the country, where the population is almost exclusively Albanian, and singular for its warlike dispositions. In the present state of his dominions, and especially if any necessity should demand vigorous efforts, I do not doubt that Ali Pasha might continue on foot for a short time, an army of 30,000 men. Under ordinary circumstances, when he has no war or scheme of conquest to support, his standing force is much below this amount. It would be difficult to estimate the number of his soldiers, who are scattered in small bodies through the different districts, cities, and villages in his territory; but probably it might not be an exaggerated statement, to rate them at 10,000; while of those, who are stationed at Ioannina, and around

his court, the number, though varying, may be stated on the average at 4,000 or 5,000 men.

In speaking, however, of an Albanian army, it is requisite to explain the meaning of this term; which if it conveys to the reader the idea of any thing analogous to the constitution of European armies, is wholly inappropriate to its object. The Albanese soldiers are merely the armed peasantry of the country, without regular officers, without military discipline, and not even distributed into regular corps. They are raised simply by the mandates of the Vizier, addressed to different districts, ordering each to provide a certain number of men, and appointing the several destinations of those so provided. The Albanian peasant, hardy and masculine in his habits, and already accustomed to the use of his fusil and sabre, steps forth at once a soldier from his native village. Few changes are necessary in his dress or accoutrements, and neither his mind or body are fettered by the minute details of a formal discipline. His immediate commander is generally one of the principal persons of those who have been summoned from his own district; but the office of command is ill defined, and whatever may have been his situation in life, he enjoys, as a soldier, an independence of any direct or violent controul. The despotic command of the Vizier, as master of the whole, lessens the authority of subordinate officers; and every individual of his army, as of the country which he governs, looks at once to him as the centre and single source of power.

The character of an Albanian soldier is that of an Albanian army. It is merely a mass of men, individually strong and brave, but without organization or military tactics. The higher offices of the army are scarcely better defined than the lower; the leaders not having risen by any regular gradation of rank, but acquiring their situation either from personal influence, or the reputation of superior bravery. A review of Albanian troops is simply a procession of man by man under the eye of their chief. Their order of battle is that of a crowd; in which the bravest men are called upon by national cries and exclamations to come out and meet the enemy;

others follow the example, and it becomes the affair of man against man, and of strength against strength. In consequence of this method of fighting, the slaughter is generally small in the internal wars of Albania; but when these troops are brought against regular armies, and a route once commences,* the destruction is occasionally very great. Much of this description is applicable to Turkish armies in general, as well to the Albanese; but the character of warfare is more distinct and peculiar among the latter people. Nevertheless from their bravery and warlike habits, the Albanians possess the highest military reputation in the Turkish empire; and in the Morea, in Egypt, in Syria, and other provinces, they are everywhere found as the guards of the Pashas, and the most valuable part of the military force of the country.

The naval power of Ali Pasha is very small; though it appears that of late he has been making some efforts to increase it. A few large armed corvets, which have hitherto been chiefly employed in carrying cargoes of corn, or in the missions to the Barbary powers, form at present the whole of his force upon the seas.

Of the population of the country subject to the government of Ali Pasha, it is impossible to speak with certainty, as there are no official documents on which to form an opinion; and the same habit of exaggeration exists here, as with respect to the amount of military force. The most populous portions of his territory are unquestionably some of the districts in Albania to the north of Ioannina. In Thessaly, and the country southwards to the gulph of Corinth, the population is less considerable; in the ancient Acarnania and Ætolia, the country is very thinly peopled, and there are no towns of any importance. M. Pouquèville, the French minister at Ioannina, has

* In the island of Lipari, I saw a regiment of Albanians, which had long been in the service of the king of the Two Sicilies. This regiment was disbanded in the winter of 1812. A large part of the force, by which the English troops were attacked at Rosetta, in the last expedition to Egypt, was composed of Albanians.

stated to me his opinion, that the whole dominions of Ali Pasha do not contain a population of more than a million and a half, and though various reasons incline me to believe that this is below the truth, yet any estimate which should exceed 2,000,000, would probably be as much in the other extreme. If we were to assume the latter number as the real one, (and it perhaps is not very widely remote,) we should obtain an average population equal to that of Scotland; the superficial extent of Ali Pasha's dominions not differing greatly from that of the sister kingdom.

This population may be divided into three principal classes: viz. the Turks, Greeks, and Albanians; each of which classes, though intermixed to a certain extent with the others, yet preserves its general characters as a distinct community. The Turkish population is unquestionably the smallest in amount, though proportionally greater in Thessaly than in Albania, or the country nearer the gulph of Corinth. The Greeks are numerous in the towns and villages in the southern parts of Albania, and may be considered to form the basis of the population of this district. In the country to the north of Ioannina, they are rarely seen; but in Thessaly, they probably compose nearly two-thirds of the number of inhabitants; and in the district to the south of the river Hellada, and Thermophylæ, comprizing the antient Doris, Phocis, and a part of Bœotia, their proportion is still more considerable. Among the mountains of the Pindus chain is scattered a considerable population of Wallachian descent, with some peculiar features in their habits and modes of life, which will hereafter be noticed. The Albanian subjects of Ali Pasha, however, inasmuch as they form the chief support of his military power, are more important than any other part of the population of these countries. I have already spoken of the origin, history, and distribution of this people. Though recognizing as their native soil the country on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, they are found in almost every part of the territory of Ali Pasha, not merely as soldiers, but also as settlers by conquest

or migration. Even in Attica and the Morea, there are numerous districts and villages, the people of which, in their language and habits, retain the most distinct features of their Albanian descent. *

In speaking of the revenues of Ali Pasha, it cannot be expected that I should do more than state some of the sources whence they are derived, without venturing to give an estimate of their amount. The peculiar nature of his government, despotic in itself, yet nominally standing in a sort of subjection to another, would render such an estimate extremely difficult; and it becomes almost impossible, when to these circumstances is added the peculiar character of the man, avaricious in his temper, insulated in his counsels, unceasingly active in his own affairs, and giving his entire confidence to none of the many who surround his person. That his revenues, however, are large, and his collected treasures of great amount, may be inferred from the nature of his resources, from the extensive military establishment which he maintains, and from the powerful influence he has acquired in Constantinople by the distribution of money. The most important sources of revenue are, first, the land-tax, an impost apparently very irregular in its distribution, with local varieties which have been determined by the various manner in which he has acquired possession of different districts. Its ordinary extent, however, appears to be about 10 per cent. of the produce, or value of the produce.—Secondly, a tax upon cities and towns, which in most cases seems to be arbitrary, and depending upon the necessities and will of the Vizier, but in some instances is modified by the circumstances of their surrender or conquest. This tax is imposed in the form of requisition, its distribution among the inhabitants being generally left to the discretion of the principal people of the place. I was informed that the usual sum required annually from the city of Ioannina, amounted to two or three hundred thousand piastres, or from 11,000*l.* to 16,000*l.*; the arrangements for satisfying which are committed

* One or two small branches of this people are to be found in Naples and Sicily, where also they preserve the traces of their origin.

to the most respectable Greek inhabitants. — Thirdly, the duties upon export and import, which Ali Pasha has lately endeavoured to increase to six per cent. in his dominions, though elsewhere in the Turkish empire they do not exceed to foreigners three per cent. A remonstrance made by our government of the Ionian Isles, in the spring of 1813, induced him to relinquish the additional impost, as applied to the exports from Albania to these islands; but even in this transaction, he maintained his right to regulate his own duties, without regard to the usage of other parts of Turkey. — Fourthly, the assumption of a right to all the property of those who die without male-heirs, a claim founded in part on the custom of the Turkish empire, which gives to the Sultan the property of persons having no direct heirs, as well as the inheritance of the great officers of state. This claim, in the hands of Ali Pasha, is pursued with unabating vigour, and forms one of the most serious oppressions to his subjects. Like some of the preceding taxes, however, it is irregular in its local exercise, some towns and districts being partially exempt from it, a consequence of the same circumstances which have already been alluded to. In Albania the exercise of the claim is most rigorous, and one or two instances have come to my own knowledge, where it was attended with very distressing effects. — Fifthly, a duty upon all decisions in cases of commercial or civil litigation, amounting to one-tenth of the value of the disputed property. In all such instances of litigation among his Greek subjects, the Vizier appoints commissioners from among the merchants of the same community, who act as judges upon the questions at issue.

Besides these more important sources of revenue, there are others less direct and uniform in their nature, such as the requisitions upon particular districts to assist in building the palaces of the Pasha, and other public works; the partial monopoly of the corn trade; the billetting of the soldiers upon private houses; the confiscation of the property of individuals; and other modes of exaction, which a despotic government can impose or withdraw at its pleasure. It may be mentioned generally, with respect to all these public

impositions, that they are only very partially and with much less vigour enforced on the eastern side of Ali Pasha's dominion, where his power is not so firmly established as in his western territory: nor can it be ascertained what proportion of the revenue of the country he transmits to Constantinople, either directly, as a nominal composition for the land-tax, the Karach, and certain other imposts; or indirectly, to forward his political views in that capital. It has been the general policy of Ali Pasha to maintain the friendship of the Porte, even while pursuing most actively his schemes of ambition; and well instructed how, in a government like that of Turkey, this may most effectually be done, he has not failed, by transmitting a part of his treasures, to procure an easy licence to the progress of his conquests. Admirably served by his agents at Constantinople, he well knows the fittest time and manner of accomplishing these purposes; and it is probable that the amount of his payments is chiefly determined by the political situation of the moment, and the nature of his future projects.

In addition to his public revenue, Ali Pasha derives an increase of power from the extent of his private property, which I have understood, on some authority, to amount to 4,000,000 piastres, or more than 200,000*l.* per annum. This revenue is chiefly drawn from the rent of lands, from towns, and villages, which are considered as belonging personally to the Vizier. In the case of a despotic government, owing its origin to conquest, it would be superfluous minutely to enquire how these possessions were obtained, or on what rights they depend. Some of them are said to have been derived from purchase, and those particularly which are situated in Thessaly; but contracts between a despot and his slaves can be submitted to no criterion of fairness or equality. The actual accumulation of treasure by the Vizier, from these various sources, is supposed to be very great. A large portion of his wealth, according to the usage of the East, is probably hoarded in the form of gold, silver, and the precious stones; and it is currently said in the country, that the Seraglio of Tepeleni,

the place of his nativity, is one of the principal repositories of these hidden treasures.

The nature of Ali Pasha's government, as well as the character of the man, will be more fully illustrated in the succeeding narrative, for which the reader will be prepared by the sketch that has been given of his progress and actual dominion. Speaking generally of his administration, it may be said to be one of absolute individual despotism, supported by a union of powerful personal qualities in that individual. Quick thought, singular acuteness of observation, a conjunction of vigour and firmness in action, and much personal resolution are connected with an uncommon faculty of artifice, an implacable spirit of revenge, and the utter disregard of every principle interfering with that active movement of ambition, which is the main spring and master-feeling of his mind. The effect of these remarkable qualities has been exhibited in the progress he has made to his present state of elevation. Their influence is strikingly apparent in the entire subjection of so many warlike tribes, in the perfect tranquillity of his dominions, in the despostic exercise of his government; and above all, in the mysterious awe with which even his name and mandate are regarded by every class of his subjects. It is pleasant to be able to allege, as one proof of his superior understanding, a degree of freedom from national and religious prejudices rarely to be found among Turkish rulers. He has studiously adopted into his territory several of the improvements of more cultivated nations; he has destroyed the numerous bands of robbers who infested the peaceful inhabitants of the country; by his direction, roads have been made, bridges constructed, and agricultural improvements attempted. This laudable spirit has added respect to the terror inspired by his government; and even those who, out of the immediate reach of his power, can venture to express hatred of his tyranny, are obliged to allow that Albania is more happy and prosperous under this single and stern dominion, than when divided among numerous chieftains, and harasssed by incessant wars. From this opinion, no deference

to the principles of despotism can be inferred. The experience of history has proved that a single tyrant is less injurious to the happiness of a people, than tyranny divided among several; and the Vizier of Albania has himself become a despot, only by the annihilation of the many despots who preyed on that heretofore distracted and divided country.

CHAP. VII.

GREAT SERAGLIO OF ALI PASHA. — FIRST INTERVIEW WITH THE VIZIER. — CONVERSATION. — DESCRIPTION OF IOANNINA. — BAZARS. — PAVILION OF THE VIZIER. — MOSQUES. — POPULATION OF THE CITY. — TURKISH AND GREEK WOMEN. — CLIMATE. — LAKE OF IOANNINA. — HISTORY OF THE CITY. — RUINS IN ITS VICINITY. — OBSERVATIONS ON THE SITE OF THE ORACLE OF DODONA.

WE had been settled about two hours in the house of our new host, Metzou, when the Greek Secretary Colovo called upon us, to pay his compliments on our arrival at Ioannina, and to announce the intention of the Vizier to receive us at the Seraglio the following morning. We found Colovo a man between fifty and sixty years of age, of extreme sedateness of manner, yet prepossessing in his appearance and conversation. He spoke fluently the French, Italian, and German languages, and his visit this evening gave some relief to our intercourse with the family of our host, which had hitherto been embarrassed by the want of some common means of converse. Signore Colovo had scarcely left the house, when an evening repast was served up to us, consisting of several dishes of meats and pastry, on a circular pewter tray, set upon a large wooden stool. The family did not partake in this meal; but we were joined by a young Greek merchant of Ioannina, who, as we afterwards learnt, was betrothed to the eldest daughter of our host. This young man, Ioannes Mela by name, had travelled much in Germany and Russia, spoke the continental languages remarkably well, and made himself very agreeable to us by his pleasing manners and excellent information. After supper, our party was joined by one or two other Greeks; Turkish pipes and coffee were introduced, and, sitting on the sophas of the apartment, we continued smoking till the evening was far advanced. In the novelty of this scene, occurring immediately

after our entrance into the capital of Ali Pasha, it will readily be conceived that there was much enjoyment.

The morning of the 1st of November was made interesting to us, by our introduction to this extraordinary man. At ten o'clock, Colovo again called, to say that the Vizier was prepared to give us audience; and shortly afterwards, two white horses, of beautiful figure, and superbly caparisoned in the Turkish manner, were brought to us from the Seraglio; conducted by two Albanese soldiers, likewise richly attired and armed. Mounting these horses, and a Turkish officer of the palace preceding us, with an ornamented staff in his hand, we proceeded slowly and with much state through the city, to the great Seraglio, which is situated in its southern quarter, and somewhat more than half a mile from our place of abode. On our way thither, we passed by the palace of Mouctar Pasha, a handsome edifice, and constructed with more regularity than is usual in Turkish architecture.

The Seraglio of Ali Pasha is an immense pile of building, lofty in itself, and situated on an eminence which gives it command over every part of the city. It may not unfitly be termed, a palace upon, and within a fortress. High and massive stone walls, on different parts of which cannon are mounted, support a superstructure of wood, of great extent, but apparently without any regularity of plan: the several portions of the edifice seem to have been successively added, as a necessity was found for its enlargement; yet notwithstanding this irregularity, the magnitude and character of the building give it an air of magnificence, which is not always obtained by a more rigid adherence to architectural rules. The style of construction is entirely Turkish; the roofs projecting far beyond the face of the buildings, the windows disposed in long rows underneath; the walls richly decorated with painting, occasionally landscape, but more generally what is merely ornamental, and without uniform design. The access to the Seraglio is exceedingly mean. It is surrounded by narrow and gloomy strects, without any circumstance to mark the approach to the palace of the Albanian ruler. A broad wooden gateway conducted us into a

large, irregular area, two sides of which were formed by the buildings of the Seraglio; a third side by a long wooden shed, intended, as it would seem, for the reception of the horses, which are constantly moving to and from the palace. This area presented a curious and interesting scene. It was crowded with the Albanian soldiers of the Vizier; some of them pacing around the open space; others keeping guard at the different gates of the Seraglio; others again sitting on the ground, in circular groupes, singing the national airs of their country, or reciting perhaps the deeds of their national warfare. The Albanian is here seen with all the most striking peculiarities of costume and manner. The Tchochodares, and guards of the Vizier, are selected from among their countrymen, for their strength and other martial endowments; their clothing and arms are of richer kind than those common among the other Albanese soldiers; but they retain all that mixture of the wild and picturesque in their figure, dress, and accoutrements, which is the characteristic of their nation,—the little red cap upon the crown of the head; the hair shaved off from the forehead and temples, but falling down in large masses over the shoulders; the mustachios; the huge and shaggy *capote* thrown over the back; the broad belt, from which project the curiously-worked handles of their pistols; the wide *camisa*, coloured stockings, and ornamented sandals. The vests which these men wear, are very frequently made of velvet, and so richly ornamented with gold and silver, that they form a sort of splendid armour to the body. A very striking peculiarity of the Albanians, and one advantageously seen among the guards, in the area of the Seraglio, is their carriage in walking. It is not the hurried and aukward step of the rustic, or undisciplined soldier; but a firm and slowly-measured march, with something even of stateliness in the gait, which I have not equally observed among any other people. The memory of every one who has travelled in Albania, will recognize at once this feature in the peasantry and soldiers of the country.

Passing through the almost savage pomp of this outer area of the Seraglio, we entered an inner court, and dismounted at the foot of a dark stone-staircase. On the first landing-place stood one of the

Vizier's carriages; an old and awkward vehicle, of German manufacture, and such as might have been supposed to have travelled a dozen times from Hamburgh to Trieste. At the top of the staircase, we entered into a wide gallery or hall, the windows of which command a noble view of the lake of Ioannina, and the mountains of Pindus; the walls are painted, and numerous doors conduct from it to different parts of the palace. This hall, like the area below, was filled with a multitude of people; and the living scenery became yet more various and interesting as we proceeded. We now saw, besides Turkish, Albanese, and Moorish soldiers, the Turkish officers, and ministers of the Vizier; Greek and Jewish secretaries, Greek merchants, Tartar couriers, the pages and black slaves of the Seraglio; petitioners seeking to obtain audience, and numerous other figures, which give to the court and palace of Ali Pasha a character all its own. Lord Byron has admirably characterized this scene, as he saw it in the Seraglio of the Vizier at Tepeleni. His pictures are as minutely accurate in their descriptive details, as they are splendid and imposing in the poetry which conveys them to the eye of the reader.*

A passage from this outer hall, conducted us into a long and lofty apartment, the walls of which were beautifully painted, and all the decorations rich and superb. Here we were met by several pages and attendants of the Vizier, who led us to the door of his room of audience; accompanied by Signore Cōlovo, who had joined us at the gate of the Seraglio, and now attended as our interpreter. A curtain was thrown aside, and we entered the apartment of Ali Pasha. The first *coup d'œil* was imposing. It was a large and lofty saloon, from which an area was separated at the lower end of four richly ornamented pillars; a long range of windows at the upper extremity affording the same magnificent view as that from the outer hall. The interior decorations of the apartment exhibited much of gaudy

* Childe Harold, canto ii. 55, 56, &c.

profusion. The prevailing colours, as well of the painted walls and cieling, as of the furniture, were crimson, blue, and yellow; the latter colour chiefly derived from the massy and profuse gilding, which was spread over every part of the room. The cieling was divided into squares by wood-work very curiously and delicately carved; the interior of each square was of crimson colour, the borders of gold. Pilastres, at equal distances, and richly ornamented, but without any regular order of architecture, gave variety to the walls of the apartment. On these pilastres, and in niches intermediate to them, were hung the arms of the Vizier, sabres, daggers, and pistols; all of the finest workmanship, and profusely adorned with gold and jewels. A Turkey-carpet covered the floor, and *divans* entirely surrounded the room, except at its lower end. These were very broad, and elevated about fifteen inches from the ground; the cushions of crimson satin, with deep borders of gold lace. A large fire of wood was blazing on a hearth, above which a projecting chimney-piece, or rather chimney, rose in the form of a conical canopy, superbly ornamented with gilding, of various figure and device.

These minute observations, however, were not made at the time of our entrance into the apartment. All our attention was at this moment occupied by the person of Ali Pasha himself, whose figure formed the most interesting part of the picture that was before us. He was sitting in the Turkish manner, with his legs crossed under him, on a couch immediately beyond the fire, somewhat more elevated than the rest, and richer in its decorations. On his head he wore a high round cap, the colour of the deepest mazareen blue, and bordered with gold lace. His exterior robe was of yellow cloth, likewise richly embroidered, two inner garments striped of various colours, and flowing down loosely from the neck to the feet; confined only about the waist by an embroidered belt, in which were fixed a pistol and dagger, of beautiful and delicate workmanship. The hilts of these arms were covered with diamonds and pearls, and eme-

ralds of great size and beauty were set in the heads of each. On his fingers the Vizier wore many large diamond rings, and the mouth-piece of his long and flexible pipe was equally decorated with various kinds of jewellery.

Yet more than his dress, however, the countenance of Ali Pasha at this time engaged our earnest observation. It is difficult to describe features, either in their detail or general effect, so as to convey any distinct impression to the mind of the reader. Were I to attempt a description of those of Ali, I should speak of his face as large and full; the forehead remarkably broad and open, and traced by many deep furrows; the eye penetrating, yet not expressive of ferocity; the nose handsome and well formed; the mouth and lower part of the face concealed, except when speaking, by his mustachios and the long beard which flows over his breast. His complexion is somewhat lighter than that usual among the Turks, and his general appearance does not indicate more than his actual age, of sixty or sixty-one years, except perhaps that his beard is whiter than is customary to this time of life. The neck is short and thick, the figure corpulent and unwieldy; his stature I had afterwards the means of ascertaining to be about five feet nine inches. The general character and expression of the countenance are unquestionably fine, and the forehead especially is a striking and majestic feature. Much of the talent of the man may be inferred from his exterior; the moral qualities, however, may not equally be determined in this way; and to the casual observation of the stranger, I can conceive from my own experience, that nothing may appear but what is open, placid, and alluring*. Opportunities were afterwards afforded me of looking beneath this exterior

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Lord Byron thus describes him:

> ——— a man of war and woes;
> Yet in his lineaments ye cannot trace,
> While gentleness her milder radiance throws
> Along that aged venerable face,
> The deeds that lurk beneath, and stain him with disgrace.'

of expression; it is the fire of a stove burning fiercely under a smooth and polished surface.

When we entered the apartment, the Vizier inclined himself forwards, without rising from his couch, and moved his hand towards his breast, the graceful and dignified manner of salutation which is common throughout the East. He motioned us to take a seat on the sofas at no great distance from his couch, the interpreter meanwhile standing in front. He first enquired from the latter, whether we spoke the Romaic, or what other languages? To this enquiry, as it regarded the Romaic, or modern Greek, we were reluctantly compelled to reply in the negative; the interpreter adding on his own suggestion, that we understood the Hellenic; the name by which the ancient Greek language is yet known in the country. The Vizier, continuing to employ the Romaic, while his *dragoman* communicated with us in Italian, next expressed in general terms his pleasure at seeing us at Ioannina. He enquired how long it was since we had left England? where we had travelled in the interval? when we had arrived in Albania? whether we were pleased with what we had yet seen of this country? how we liked the appearance of Ioannina? whether we had experienced any obstruction in reaching this city? with several other enquiries of similar nature. Though the pronunciation of the modern Greek was still novel and strange to my ear, yet I sufficiently understood it, to be aware that Colovo translated our replies to these questions with much distinctness and accuracy. Soon after the conversation commenced, a pipe was brought to each of us by the attendants, the mouth-pieces of amber, set round with small diamonds; and shortly afterwards coffee of the finest quality was handed to us in china cups, within golden ones. The Vizier himself drank coffee, and smoked at intervals during the progress of the conversation.

The enquiries he made respecting our journey to Ioannina, gave us the opportunity of complimenting him on the excellent police of his dominions, and the attention he has given to the state of the roads. I mentioned to him generally Lord Byron's poetical descrip-

tion of Albania, the interest it had excited in England, and Mr. Hobhouse's intended publication of his travels in the same country. He seemed pleased with these circumstances, and stated his recollection of Lord Byron. He then spoke of the present state of Europe; enquired what was our latest intelligence of the advance of the French armies in Russia, and what the progress of affairs in Spain. On the former point, it was evident that the information we gave, was not new to him, though he did not expressly say this; his manner, however, evinced the strong interest he felt in the subject, and it seemed as if he were seeking indirectly to obtain our opinions upon it. He was less accurately and less recently informed as to the affairs of Spain, and we gave him a short narrative of the battle of Salamanca, and the entry of Lord Wellington into Madrid, of which he had before heard only the general statement.

The next subject of conversation was prefaced by his asking us, whether we had seen at Santa-Maura one of his armed corvettes which had been seized and carried thither by an English frigate. This subject we had anticipated, and not entirely without apprehension. The vessel in question, which was a large ship carrying 26 or 28 guns, we had actually seen when on our passage from Ithaca to Corfu. It was detained in the vicinity of Corfu by an English frigate, having on board a large cargo of grain, and under circumstances which rendered it evident that there was a design of infringing the blockade of that island. Though probably aware that the vessel was lawfully a prize, Ali Pasha professed great indignation on the subject, and wrote with so much warmth to the local government of Santa-Maura, while we were in that island, that we were led to hesitate a moment, whether it might not be well to delay our journey to Ioannina until the affair was further adjusted. In bringing forward the subject during our interview with him, the Vizier spoke with animation, or even a slight warmth of manner. He complained of the injustice done to him in the capture of his vessel, denied the right of capture in this particular case, and alleged his various good offices towards our

government, as well as to individuals of the English nation, as what ought to have secured him against such acts of hostility. We answered, that as mere travellers we could not venture to give a reply that might be deemed official, but that we doubted not, from our knowledge of the dispositions of the English government, that when the affair was properly explained, its final arrangement would be both just, and satisfactory His Highness. This of course meant little, and the Vizier doubtless understood it as such. He added only a few words, and then, with a loud laugh, expressed his desire of changing the subject.*

He now inquired whether we were comfortably lodged in the house he had appointed for us; hoped we should remain some time in Ioannina; and asked whether we had any design of going to Constantinople or to Athens? On explaining our intention of visiting the latter place, he said that we should have every facility in passing through his dominions, and offered any other service that might be in his power. Before our audience concluded, he mentioned his having been informed that I was a physician, and asked whether I had studied medicine in England? Replying to this in the affirmative, he expressed his wish to consult me on his own complaints before we should quit Ioannina, a proposition to which I bowed assent, though not without apprehensions of difficulty in prescribing for the case of such a patient. He dismissed us very graciously after we had been with him about half an hour. The interpreter continued standing the whole time, and six attendants also remained in the apartment during our audience. Four of these were young Albanians, tall and handsome in their persons, with long flowing hair, and their dress

* The frigate which took this corvette was the Apollo, commanded by Captain Taylor, an officer of whom his country and society are now unhappily deprived, but who will long be recollected for his talents, bravery, and the generous liberality of his temper, — qualities which had given an early reputation to his name. The corvette in question was eventually given up to Ali Pasha, less from any doubts of the legality of the prize, than from the nature of our political relations with him at the time.

and arms costly and magnificent. The other two were negroes, wearing white turbans, and also exhibiting much decoration of dress.

The manner of the Vizier in this interview was courteous and polite, without any want of the dignity which befits his situation. There is not, either in his countenance or speech, that formal and unyielding apathy, which is the characteristic of the Turks as a people; but more vivacity, humour, and change of expression. His laugh is very peculiar, and its deep tone, approaching to a growl, might almost startle an ear unaccustomed to it. Altogether I was very well satisfied with the tenor of our interview, which paved the way to me for a long and interesting connection with this singular man.

We returned to our lodging on the same horses which had brought us to the Seraglio. In repassing through the palace-yard, I observed some of the Albanian soldiers who wore red shawls singularly wrapped round the head and neck. These men are chiefly from the districts of northern Albania, on the confines of the ancient Macedonia; they are generally tall and muscular in person, wild and ferocious in their habits of life, and have the repute of being excellent soldiers, according to the Albanian modes of warfare. The character of the ancient people of this district is given us by Livy, and strikingly resembles that of the modern race of inhabitants.*

Established now in Ioannina, and having gone through our first interview with the Vizier, we were at leisure to survey the various features of the city, and its neighbourhood: in which we were much assisted by the kindness of Mela, the young Greek, who had visited us on the evening of our arrival. The general situation of Ioannina has already been noticed; in a valley, or what may be termed from its appearance, a great bason, environed by mountains, the city itself

* Frigida hæc omnis, duraque cultu et aspera plaga est: cultorum quoque ingenia terræ similia habet; ferociores eos et accolæ barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos. Lib. xlv. 30.

stretching along the western shores of a lake, which on its opposite side washes the foot of one of these mountain boundaries. The length of this lake may be about six miles; its breadth nowhere greatly exceeds two miles; and near the central part of the city, its channel is much narrowed by the projecting peninsula, which forms the fortress of Ioannina, and by the small island, which is opposed to it on the other shore: these two features add greatly to the beauty of the scenery from every point of view. The peninsula of the fortress, widening as it advances into the lake, is terminated by two distinct promontories of rock; on one of which stands a large Turkish mosque, its lofty minaret and extensive piazzas shaded by the cypresses surrounding it: on the other promontory, the old Seraglio of the Pashas of Ioannina, a large building, with all that irregular and indefinable magnificence which belongs to Turkish architecture; the minaret and cypresses of a second mosque rising above its projecting roofs and painted walls. The area of the fortress, which forms a small town in itself, is insulated from the rest of the city by a lofty stone-wall and a broad moat which admits the waters of the lake.

The island opposite the city is picturesque in its outline, and embellished by a small palace of the Vizier's, which is seen upon its shore. A village on its northern side is almost hidden by the luxuriant foliage of the chesnut and plane trees growing amongst its habitations. The traveller will do well to ascend the highest point of the isle, whence there is a most imposing view of the city and the buildings on the cliffs of the fortress.

The banks of the lake present many other objects to engage the eye; — the great Seraglio, which from some points of view seems to rise from its shore; a painted Kiosck, projecting over the waters, below the rocks of the old Seraglio; a convent of Dervishes, shaded by trees, further to the north; but above all, the mountain ridge of Metzoukel, which, with a height probably between 2,500 and 3,000 feet above the lake, forms, almost as far as the view extends, a continuous and unbroken boundary to the valley; rising from the water's edge,

H.Holland del.

J.Byrne sculp.

Mosque of the Fortress of Joannina.

London Published by Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown Paternoster Row Jan 1 1815

opposite to Ioannina, with an abruptness and majesty of outline, the effect of which is highly magnificent. Its precipitous front is intersected by the ravines of mountain torrents; which, expanding as they approach the lake, are covered with wood, and form the shelter to many small villages. It is said that formerly there were more extensive forests on this mountain ascent; but that they were destroyed, as being the resort of bands of robbers who infested the tranquillity of the city. Considering the general absence of wood from the landscape, the scenery of Ioannina is perhaps less perfect than had these forests been still preserved: still it is such, as may be considered to have few parallels in variety and magnificence.

The extent of the city, as it stretches backwards and laterally from the fortress, is greater than the same population would occupy in the towns of other parts of Europe. Besides the vacant spaces of the mosques and Turkish burying-grounds, all the better houses both of Turks and Greeks have areas attached to them, in which there generally grow a few trees, giving to the general view of the place that singular intermixture of buildings and wood which has already been noticed. The central part of the city, occupied in great part by the streets forming the Bazars, is the only one where much continuity is preserved; and here the houses are in general much lower and smaller than elsewhere. The breadth of the town, which nowhere exceeds a mile and a half, is defined by a range of low eminences, running parallel to the shore of the lake, and affording from their summit one of the most striking views of the city, the lake, and the distant heights of the Pindus chain.

The interior aspect of Ioannina, except where there is some opening to the landscape that surrounds it, is gloomy, and without splendour. Few of the streets preserve an uniform line; a circumstance which makes the geography of the place very difficult to the stranger. Those inhabited by the lowest classes consist in great part of wretched mud-built cottages, and are chiefly in the outskirts of the city; the middle ranks dwell in a better description of buildings, the upper part of which is constructed of wood, with a small open gallery under the

projecting roof; the higher classes, both of Greeks and Turks, have in general very large houses, often forming two or three sides of the areas attached to them, and with wide galleries which go along the whole front of the building, taken as it were from the first floor, and sheltered under the roofs. In this style of building, which is common throughout the Turkish towns, there is something picturesque in the distant effect, which is lost in the nearer approach. In the best streets of Ioannina, there is an air of heaviness: and the most respectable houses have the aspect of prisons; presenting externally little more than lofty walls with massive double gates, and the windows, if seen at all, at the top of the building.

The Bazars form the most interesting part of the city. They consist of ten or twelve streets, intersecting each other at irregular angles; very narrow; and still further darkened by the low projecting roofs, and large wooden booths in which the goods are exposed to sale. As is usual in large towns in Turkey, each Bazar has its appropriate object. One is occupied by those who deal in jewellery, and other ornamental articles; another by the dealers in pelisses, Turkish shawls, and other parts of dress; a third by the retailers of common cotton goods; a fourth by the dealers in groceries, tobacco, dried fruits, &c.; a fifth by those who sell pipes, amber, mouth-pieces, and wooden trinkets; another again by the dealers in coloured leather and Turkish slippers. As Ioannina is the residence of many wealthy people, and a depôt besides for a large district of country, some parts of these Bazars are richly and abundantly furnished; and those in particular are very striking which are occupied by jewellery and ornamental articles of dress.

The most conspicuous building in Ioannina is undoubtedly the great Seraglio, the appearance of which has already been described. That in the fortress is of large extent, and contains some fine apartments; but it is old, and some parts of it in a ruinous state. It is inhabited chiefly by officers and soldiers of the Vizier. The Seraglio of Mouctar and Veli Pasha nearly adjoin that of their father. The former, besides being built with greater regularity, is extremely rich

in its internal decorations, which are disposed with considerable taste and effect. Mouctar Pasha was not at this time at Ioannina, but I saw him on my return hither a few months afterwards. I visited him once in an apartment, the alcoved cieling of which formed a sort of Eidouranion, with a tolerably exact adherence to the Copernican astronomy. The celestial bodies, comets as well as sun and planets, were represented in gold, upon a basis of deep blue; the effect of which was very striking, when lights were placed on the floor below the alcove.

The gardens and pavilion of the Vizier in the northern suburb form a remarkable object. The gardens indeed are small, but the Pavilion, situated in a wooden inclosure adjoining them, affords a spectacle of much magnificence. It is a great saloon; I believe about 240 feet in circumference; its outline, however, not a perfect circle, but formed by the curves of four separate areas or recesses, which are all open to the great circular area that occupies the centre of the building. The curve of each recess contains nine windows; there are two large ones also at the entrance into the Pavilion. The whole pavement is of marble. In the centre is a large and deep marble basin; in the middle of which, and likewise in marble, stands the model of a pyramidal fortress, mounted with numerous cannon, from each of which a *jet d'eau* issues, meeting the other *jets* from cannon on the outer circumference of the basin. The fountain is completed by a lofty *jet d'eau* from the summit of the pyramid. A small organ, attached to one of the pillars in the central saloon, is so constructed as to yield its music at the time the water is flowing in the fountain. The painting, carving, and gilding of the whole Pavilion are very superb; each of the four recesses being in some degree differently furnished. Opposite to the great entrance are stairs, which conduct to two private apartments of the Vizier. In one of them there is a lattice window, through which he can look down into the Pavilion; while, on the side of the Pavilion, a landscape is so skilfully painted on the lattice-work, that the window might elude the most acute eye.

In the small park surrounding this edifice, are several red deer, and a remarkably fine ostrich, brought hither from Egypt. On a low terrace in a corner of the park, and almost hidden by some ancient chesnut trees, is another small palace of the Vizier; apparently not yet completed, but which he occasionally frequents when visiting this spot.

There are sixteen Mosques in Ioannina, each standing on an open space of ground, and generally surrounded by large cypresses. The northern mosque of the fortress is the most remarkable of these edifices; apparently as well in size, as in its fine situation overhanging the lake. This was a point to which I often directed my walks, while residing in Ioannina. The magnificence of the view was one, but not the only interesting circumstance about this spot. The silence of the place, even close to so large a city; a sort of loneliness derived from the deep piazzas of the mosque, from the shade of the cypresses, and from the tomb-stones underneath them; the aspect of the Turk himself, slowly walking to the doors of the building, and scarcely breaking into this loneliness;— these are the circumstances which will interest the stranger, in visiting the mosque of the fortress of Ioannina.

The number of Greek churches in the city does not exceed seven or eight, but some of these are of considerable size. The services of the Greek religion, however, cannot here shew themselves in the same unrestrained way as in the Ionian Isles; and though Ali Pasha is habitually tolerant in this respect, yet the usage of some centuries, and the number of Mahomedans in the city, repress many of the external demonstrations which belong to this church elsewhere. Ioannina is the seat of a Greek archbishop, to whom several bishoprics are subordinate in the southern parts of Albania.

I am unable to speak with certainty of the population of this city, which I have heard variously estimated from twenty-five to forty, or even fifty thousand. I should conjecture, from the best information I was able to collect, that the real number of inhabitants is about 30,000, exclusively of the Albanian soldiers who are quartered in

the place. This population is composed of Greeks, Turks, Albanians, and Jews; the Greeks probably in largest proportion, and certainly most respectable in wealth and acquirements. They, too, are the eldest inhabitants of the city; many of their families, as it is said, having been established here for many centuries: they form the great body of merchants at Ioannina; some are settled officially about the court of the Vizier as agents and secretaries; while others, lower in rank, are found in the capacity of shopkeepers and artizans throughout the city.

The Turks of Ioannina form a numerous body, not to be distinguished, however, in any essential feature from the people of this nation elsewhere. Those who are immediately employed under the Vizier are excited perhaps to a greater activity by the nature of his government; but the remainder exhibit the same indolence, apathy, and prejudice, the same customs and deformities of social life, by which they have long been characterized as a community. Their national haughtiness, however, is not equally prominent here as in other parts of Turkey. It has been subdued in part by the despotism under which they live, and brought more nearly to a level with the feeling of the Greeks and Albanians around them.

The Jews of Ioannina are to be found as dealers in the Bazars, as artizans, and some of them also with employments about the Seraglio. They partake with the Greeks in the advantage of general toleration, and are not, I believe, exposed to any peculiar privations. Their burying-ground, for the right of which they pay an annual sum, forms an open area in the midst of the city.

The Albanian residents in Ioannina are among the lower class of inhabitants. Those in the military service of the Vizier are chiefly quartered upon the Greek families, by whom this is felt as a very burdensome and oppressive tax. There are Greek merchants in the city who are frequently required to provide lodging, either in their own habitations or elsewhere, for forty or fifty men, and those of an irregular soldiery, little fettered by the restraints of discipline. The

absence of the Vizier from his capital is, in this respect, a sort of jubilee for the principal inhabitants.

Very few natives of the European nations are to be found at Ioannina. Mr. G. Foresti, the English Resident here, was absent on business in the Ionian Isles, at the time we first visited the city. M. Pouquèville, the French resident at the court of Ali Pasha, under the title of Consul-General for Albania, had passed seven years in this situation, which was somewhat alleviated to him by the presence of his brother, who had the office of consul at Prevesa. M. Pouquèville was one of the thirty *savans* who attended the French expedition to Egypt. Subsequently to this, he published a work, in three volumes, on Albania and the Morea, which has been recently translated into English. An acquaintance incidentally formed with this gentleman, was the source of much satisfaction to us during our stay at Ioannina. We found him extremely intelligent and well informed as to the present state of Albania, and were indebted to him for a degree of polite attention, which the nature of his situation under a hostile government, could not have entitled us to expect.

The population of Ioannina thus variously composed, and with the addition of Arabs, Moors, and Negroes, affords a curious spectacle in all the streets of the city. Somewhat such an assemblage may indeed be seen in other Turkish towns, but wanting the numerous Albanese soldiery, which forms here so striking and characteristic a feature. Of the female part of the population, few, except those of the lower class, are to be seen in the public streets, and these few are so much concealed by the mode of dress, that they are but as moving figures to the eye. The Turkish women of higher rank are seldom abroad. Any female of this nation, coming into the streets, is entirely covered with a dark-coloured cloak, excepting the face, which is likewise concealed by bands drawn across it, leaving merely a narrow transverse opening for the eyes. In Constantinople, and some other cities of the East, the habits of the Turkish women are less rigorous in these respects, and more innovation has crept in upon the national

customs. The usage of the Greek ladies, with respect to public appearance, approaches in some degree to that of the Turks, determined partly by their own habits as a people, partly by the necessity of conforming to the Turkish customs. They are rarely seen in the streets, and when coming abroad, are disguised nearly in a similar way. The Greek and Albanian women of the lower class are not subject to these restrictions, and they may be considered the only *visible* female population in the streets of the city.

The police of Ioannina is extremely good. The vigilance of Ali Pasha extends to every corner of the city; and patroles of Albanian soldiers pass the night in the streets to ensure tranquillity. It is a good regulation for such a capital, that no one is allowed to walk in the streets after dark, without a lamp or torch light. The Bazars are regularly closed at a certain hour of the evening, and I found by experience that it was dangerous to be in them after this hour. Returning home at one time from the banks of the lake, I entered one of these streets as they were closing the shops, and was instantly attacked by two large and fierce dogs, coming upon their duty as night-guards of the place. Though speedily called off by the people of the Bazar, they tore the great coat I had on into various pieces, and but for their interference, would have left still more serious marks of their fidelity.

The climate of Ioannina is of course much influenced by its situation, and by the lofty chain of mountains which approach and surround it. The height of the city above the sea, as derived from barometrical observations, may be stated, I believe, at from 1000 to 1200 feet. I regret that I could not obtain here, any register of temperature for different years; but from the enquiries I made, and my own observations, I am led to believe that the degree of winter's cold at Ioannina, though in the latitude of about 39° 30′, is on the average not less than that of the western parts of England. The winter of 1812-1813 was, it is true, one of singular severity throughout every part of Greece, as well as in Russia and Poland. When we

arrived at Ioannina, at the beginning of November, all the higher ridges of Pindus were covered with snow. For the first few days of our stay here, the weather was extremely fine, but cold; the thermometer, at 8 *a. m.* varying from 40° to 44°. Several rainy days succeeded, with occasional thunder, and much snow fell upon Pindus, covering even the greater part of Metzoukel, the mountain above the lake. Before day-break on the 9th, there was a thunder-storm more violent and continued than I ever before witnessed; the effect of the reverberation from the mountains surrounding the city was beyond measure grand and impressive. I was sent for to a house in the vicinity of our lodging, to examine a man who had been struck by the lightning. From the destruction of the texture of a small portion of skin on the forehead, it appeared that the electric fluid had entered here; the man of course died instantly. His brother, who had been standing near him, received a partial shock, which rendered him insensible for some time, but I had no reason to doubt of his final recovery.

Succeeding to this stormy weather, we had three days perfectly serene, with a clear and frosty atmosphere. At 8 *a.m.* on the 13th, the thermometer was at 40°; at the same hour the next day, as low as 33°, with a good deal of ice formed during the night. At 3 *p.m.* on the 14th, there were two slight shocks of an earthquake, followed by heavy clouds and rain on the succeeding day.

The months of January and February were extremely severe at Ioannina, with north and north-east winds. The snow lay to a great depth upon the plains, and for ten days the lake was so firmly frozen over, that the peasants every-where crossed it on the ice. Towards the middle of March, when I returned hither from Zante, the whole of the higher ridge of Metzoukel was covered with snow; and the chain of Pindus presented a succession of snow-covered masses to the eye. At this time I more than once saw the thermometer as low as the freezing point; and when at Ioannina, afterwards, in the beginning of April, there was actually a fall of

snow within the city, with several days of very cold and stormy weather. The temperature of the place in summer I believe to be very high.

I learnt from M. Pouquèville, that earthquakes are frequent here, a circumstance, which might be conjectured from the vicinity to the Ionian Isles, where they so often occur; and perhaps also from the corresponding character of the rocks. These earthquakes, as I was further informed, are generally followed very soon by rain; a fact to which I have before alluded, in reference to the course of this great natural phenomenon. The winds at Ioannina are often extremely violent, rendered so by the vicinity of the mountains, and the long vallies which traverse them. The common temperature of spring in the country is 55° or 56°.

I have already mentioned the extent of the lake. Its depth is very inconsiderable, and it is terminated at each extremity by low marshy land; that at the northern end running northwards underneath the great ridge of Metzoukel, to another small lake, about six miles distant from the city. This is the principal issue of the waters from the lake of Ioannina; a stream flowing in this direction from it, which, after passing through the second lake, suddenly enters a subterranean passage underneath some limestone hills, and appears again at a considerable distance, in a stream which joins the river Kalama. What is singular, there seems also to be a subterranean exit of water from the northern extremity of the lake, underneath the rude crags of an insulated limestone rock. It is not known with certainty where this water appears again; but probably it is in some part of the country between Ioannina and the gulph of Arta. The supply of this lake is derived from springs, and from the various mountain-torrents which descend into it.

It may be thought curious, that we have no distinct notice of this lake in ancient writers; minute in some respects as is their account of the geography of Epirus. Several modern authors, indeed, have spoken of it as the ancient lake Acherusia, and have found the Acheron and Cocytus in the streams which enter or issue from it.

But this supposition can in no degree be admitted, distinctly as we are informed from various sources of the real situation of the *Acherusia palus*, and the river Acheron. It seems to me a more probable idea, that the lake did not exist, as such, in former times; and this opinion receives confirmation from the shallowness of the water, and from the nature of the outlets from it, which might easily admit of being impeded, so as to produce accumulation in the lower part of the valley. *

The lake of Ioannina abounds in fish, of which the eels are remarkable for the great size they attain. Very fine carp also are caught in it. Its shores and the adjacent mountains are the resort of many birds of prey. The white-tailed eagle (*falco fulvus*), the kite, the Egyptian vulture (*vultur percnopterus*), and other species of vultures; the cormorant (*pelicanus carbo*), the crane (*ardea virgo et alba*), and several varieties of the genus *anas*, are, I believe, amongst the most remarkable of the birds which frequent this vicinity. The *merops apiaster*, which is abundant in Candia and other isles of the Mediterranean, is found also in this district. The wild ducks, &c. resorting to the lake, furnish an excellent game, and boats are almost constantly upon the water, with those who occupy themselves in this way. The Vizier himself sometimes takes this sport, going out in a small brigantine which has been built for his use, and surrounded by numerous boats which carry his Albanese soldiers and other attendants. The spectacle on these occasions, taking into view the surrounding scenery of city and mountains, is extremely imposing. The most common boats on the lake are the *Monoxyla*, made, like those at Santa-Maura, from a single piece of wood.

The rocks in the vicinity of Ioannina belong to the great calcareous formation already described. In some eminences near the northern

* It was told me at Ioannina, I cannot say with what truth, that in one part of the lake, the remains of a pavement and buildings were observable at the bottom. I recollect also Ali Pasha telling me, that if it was worth while to bestow sufficient labour and money upon it, he believed he could almost entirely carry off the water of the lake.

end of the lake, the interposition of the layers of flint in the limestone is very distinctly seen.

The elevated plains of the city and the neighbouring mountains exhibit a great variety of plants, of which the catalogue given in the Appendix to this volume, though I was prevented by various causes from rendering it perfect, will afford the reader some idea.

The history of Ioannina, as distinct from that of Albania, may be comprized in a short compass. There is no evidence of which I am aware, that any city existed on this spot in the times of the ancient Epirus, though by some writers it is spoken of as Cassiope, one of the most considerable cities of this region. The earliest accounts we have of Ioannina are from the Byzantine writers; and from them we may collect, that it already existed as a city in the eleventh* century, and progressively increased in consequence, forming a sort of metropolis, during a part of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to the principality which was founded by Michael Angelus, at the commencement of this period. The warlike and tumultuous tribes of Albanians frequently infested and sometimes occupied the city†; and it required a powerful expedition of Andronicus Palæologus II., aided by a Persian force, to reduce them to obedience in this region. During the whole of this period of conflicts between the power of the Greeks, Turks, and Albanians, Ioannina partook generally in the fortunes of the principality. In 1431 the general of the Sultan Amurath II., after having captured Thessalonica, and occupied other parts of this country, attacked and finally took the city after a siege, of which we have several particulars from the Byzantine historians‡. Since this period

* Anna Comnena (Alexiad. lib. v. cap. 1.) describes the capture of Ioannina by Bohemond. As she applies the epithet επισφαλης to the walls of the fortress at this time, we may perhaps presume that the city was of considerably earlier date than the eleventh century. There are still the remains of some ruined walls in the fortress of Ioannina, but I am ignorant to what period they may be referred.

† Chalcocondylas, p. 13. &c.

‡ Chalcocond. lib. v. p. 126. Phrauza. lib. ii. c. 9.

Ioannina, with the surrounding country, has formed a Pashalik, irregularly submitted to the Turkish power, and partaking at intervals in the petty wars which have distracted the country. Its acquisition by Ali Pasha procured him the title of Pasha of Ioannina, which, however, has been almost lost as a name in the general extension of his power to the adjoining provinces.

Though Ioannina itself does not shew the vestiges of a remote antiquity, there are several places in the surrounding district which are remarkable from their remains. The fine theatre, and other ruins of the ancient city under Mount Olitzka, will be noticed in a succeeding part of my narrative. On the limestone ridge at the southern extremity of the lake, are the considerable remains of Hellenic walls, testifying the site of some town or fortress, the particular name of which it is difficult to conjecture among the many cities and castles of the ancient Epirus. The same difficulty occurs with regard to other similar ruins occupying the tabular summit of an insulated eminence, three miles to the north of Ioannina, and on the right hand of the road to Zitza. The walls here, composed of vast blocks of stone, circle the whole summit of the eminence, and enclose the vestiges of other buildings now razed to the ground. I was unable to find any inscriptions here, which might convey a knowledge of the former history of the spot*. Such remains as these are extremely common in every part of Epirus; nor can it be considered surprizing, when we read of the seventy cities of this region, destroyed by Paullus Æmilius, and see the catalogue given by Procopius of nearly a hundred castles erected or repaired by the orders of Justinian in the same country.†

From the particular situation of Ioannina, it is not certain to which of the divisions of ancient Epirus this district belonged. Probably,

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* There is a half legible Latin inscription on a stone, in the yard of the Greek monastery at the foot of the hill, but it does not appear to be of any importance, or to record any date.

† Procop. lib. iv. c. 4. de Ædificiis.

according to the changes in these divisions themselves, it might appertain successively to Thesprotia and Molossia, or perhaps (if we follow Ptolemy) to the region of Cassiopeia, which seems to have occupied this central part of the country.

The question regarding the situation of Dodona, the most ancient of the Greek oracles, has generally been connected, more or less directly, with the country surrounding Ioannina; and various travellers and scholars have exercised themselves in conjectures on this subject, interesting doubtless from its relation to Grecian history.

Almost all the authors of antiquity, from Hesiod and Homer down to much later writers, refer to the temple, the oracle, and the woods of Dodona; and this reference is generally in terms which express the opinion entertained of the peculiar antiquity and sanctity of the place*. Aristotle mentions the deluge, of which a distinct tradition prevailed in every age of Greece, as having occurred particularly in the country about Dodona and the river Achelous; and in the same passage he speaks of this region as *the ancient Hellas, inhabited by the Selloi, and by those who were then called Graeci, but now Hellenes.* Our learned countryman, Bryant, has sought to explain the histories of the deluge and of Deucalion, as they stand connected in ancient writings with the situation and oracular fame of Dodona, by supposing that the Arkite worship, originating in the scriptural record of the flood, was first brought to this place from Thebes in Egypt, and formed the foundation of its mysteries, and of the future sanctity of

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* Herodotus, who appears to have gone himself to Dodona to consult the oracle upon the origin of the gods, (lib. ii. c. 50.) calls it αρχαιοτατον των εν Ἑλλησι χρηστηριων. Lib. ii. cap. 52.

Ζευ ανα, Δωδωναιε, Πελασγικε, τηλοθι ναιων,
Δωδωνης μεδεων δυσχειμερου·

Hom. Il. xvi. v. 233.

Aristotle, speaking of the deluge, says, Και γαρ ετος περι τον Ἑλληνικον εγενετο μαλιστα τοπον, και τοτε περι την Ἑλλαδα την αρχαιαν. Αυτη δ' εστιν η περι την Δωδωνην και τον Αχελωον· ωκουν γαρ οι Σελλοι εκταυθα, και οι καλουμενοι τοτε μεν Γραικοι, νυν δε Ἑλληνες.

Aristot. Meteor., lib. i. c. 14.

Plutarch (in vitâ Pyrrhi) speaks of the oracle of Dodona as established by Deucalion.

the spot. For this opinion he derives arguments from Herodotus, who gives the story of two female priestesses, represented allegorically as black doves, that were carried away from the temple of Jupiter at Thebes; one of whom was transported into Libya, while the other came to Dodona, where she established the oracle and the worship of Jupiter*. In reference to this origin, it appears that the priests of the temple of Dodona continued to be called Peleiades or doves; and under this metaphorical character, (derived, as Bryant conceives, from the tradition of the ark and doves of Noah,) they are alluded to by various writers of antiquity†. Their oracular responses were held in great veneration throughout Greece, and it may easily be conceived that the comparative remoteness of the oracle, its situation in a mountainous region, surrounded by forests, and the fountain of fire in its vicinity, would afford many circumstances deeply and peculiarly impressive to the feelings of a superstitious age. We do not possess many details respecting the temple of Jupiter at this place; but it may be presumed that it was large and splendid, and enriched by numerous votive offerings.‡

The modern inquiry respecting the situation of Dodona has been perplexed, by the different position assigned to it in ancient authors; some placing the seat of the oracle in Thesprotia, others in Molossia; others again in the district of Chaonia. This difference is explained

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* Herod. lib. ii. c. 54, 55.

† Πελειαι
Τρηχωνες, αι τ' αμβροσιην Δι πατρι φερουσαι.
Hom. Odyss. lib. xii. v. 62.

See also Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 57., the verses of Silius Italicus, lib. iii. v. 678., and Strabo, lib. ix. The speculations of Mr. Bryant upon the connection of the Dodonœan traditions and worship with the history of the flood and the religious adoration paid to Noah under the name of Zeus or Jupiter, are marked by the accustomed boldness and ingenuity of this writer. Whatever be thought of the controversy regarding the Apamean medal, he has at least executed a great work in collecting all the scattered traditions with respect to the deluge; and has succeeded in rendering it probable, that the memory of this event was preserved in various names, ceremonies, and superstitions, as well of the Grecian as of the Egyptian mythology. See Bryant's Antient Mythology, vol. iii.

‡ Polyb. lib. iv. cap. 7.

by considering the irregularity and frequent change in the divisions of Epirus, particularly in those districts which border on the chain of Pindus. Strabo himself informs us, that Dodona, which by the more ancient writers was placed in Thesprotia, was afterwards considered as in the country of the Molossi; and the limits of Chaoniæ were too vaguely ascertained, to render it surprising that this region also should be mentioned as the seat of the oracle. The speculations of modern travellers have in general fixed its situation in the country to the north of Ioannina; and by a style of research, perhaps more minute than reasonable, any large assemblage of oaks in this district has been interpreted into a vestige of the ancient forest of Dodona. Scrofani, an Italian traveller who visited Ioannina, speaks of Dodona as one or two days journey north of the city; but in so loose and uncertain a way, as to afford no weight to his opinion. M. Barbié du Bocage has fixed the situation of the oracle at Protopapas, a village at some distance to the north of the lake of Ioannina; and M. Pouquèville appears to entertain the same general idea. I confess that these opinions do not appear to me to be confirmed by any evidence; nor can I regard as more accurate that of a literary Greek, who places Dodona in the country to the east of Ioannina, and north of the river Kalama. A careful reference to all the passages in which it is mentioned by ancient writers, has led me to believe, that its real situation was to the south or south-east of Ioannina, and underneath the great mountain of Tzumerka. This mountain, the position of which has already been referred to, I consider to have been the Tomarus of antiquity; below which, according to Strabo, stood the temple of Dodona. The evidences of this opinion I have briefly stated in the subjoined note*. I have not myself been in that part of the country,

* The circumstance of Dodona being successively included by the ancients in Thesprotia and Molossia, points out its situation near the common boundary of these two regions, which we know to have been in the vicinity of the Aracthus; perhaps at one time actually formed by this river. The passage of Homer, (Iliad, ii. 749.)

——— μενεπτολεμοι τε Περαιβοι,
Οι περι Δωδωνην δυσχειμερον οικι' εθεντο,

between the river of Arta and the Aspropotami, the ancient Achelous; and I am not aware that there are any remains in this district which could be interpreted as the vestiges of the oracle. Perhaps, indeed, the evidence of Strabo, Polybius, and Dion Cassius may suffice to prove, that little, if any thing, can now remain of the ancient temple of Dodona*. Nevertheless, I consider it probable that the

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may be considered as a further proof of its position in or near the valley of the Aracthus, if, as appears most probable, the Perræbri inhabited the upper part of this valley. Aristotle, in a passage already quoted, describes the ancient Hellas, as "*that region which is about Dodona and the Achelous;*" from which it may be inferred with probability that Dodona was on the eastern side of the Aracthus, and between that river and the Acheloüs. The situation of the great and remarkable mountain of Tzumerka in this particular district is a further confirmation of the opinion, as pointing out the ancient Tomarus, underneath which, according to Strabo, stood the temple; and around the roots of which were a hundred fountains. (Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 1.) The epithets of δυσχειμερος and αιπυνατος which Homer and Æschylus severally apply to Dodona, (Prom. Vinct. v. 829.) though certainly applicable to many other parts of Epirus, yet unquestionably well accord with the situation just pointed out. Hesiod indeed has described Hellopia, in the extreme part of which he says Dodona was built, as a district πολυλειος ηδ' ευλειμων; and Apollodorus has spoken of the marshes surrounding the temple; but perhaps neither of these descriptions, admitting them to be minutely accurate, are applicable to the character of the vallies in the mountainous regions of Epirus. I cannot venture to seek a further testimony in the forests which are now so luxuriant in the valley of the river Arta, being aware how little value such an argument would have, after a lapse of more than twenty ages from the period of the ancient Dodona.

On the whole then, though without the evidence of actual observation, I am disposed to believe, that Dodona was situated in the country between the river of Arta and the Aspropotami, and underneath the mountain of Tzumerka. I would not give this opinion with perfect confidence, but I certainly think it more probable than the other situations which have been assigned to the oracle.

The editors of the French Strabo (tom. iii. p. 116, 117.) seem to agree with the Suidas mentioned by Strabo, and with one of the commentators upon Homer, in thinking that there was a Dodona in Thessaly as well as one in Epirus. Admitting this to be proved, it does not interfere with the question respecting the situation of the latter. See the Commentary of Eustathius on the second book of the Iliad.

* Polyb. lib. iv. c. 7. Dio. Cass. Fragment. — Strabo (lib. vii. 328.), after speaking of the changes in, and desolation of Epirus, adds, that "the oracle of Dodona has disappeared, in like manner as other things."

situation might yet be ascertained: and I should recommend, as one object in directing the research, the *fountain of fire*, which gave sanctity to the seat of the oracle. A succeeding part of my narrative will shew that similar phenomena of nature continue in existence, while the wonders of art, which were employed to consecrate them to the veneration of the ancient world, have long since been consigned to oblivion and decay.

CHAP. VIII.

GREEK POPULATION OF IOANNINA — THEIR COMMERCIAL HABITS. — LITERATURE. — ACADEMIES OF THE CITY. — CONDITION OF SOCIETY. — GREEK LADIES. — MANNER OF LIVING, AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY. — LITERARY CHARACTERS OF IOANNINA. — PHYSICIANS. — PERSON AND DRESS OF THE GREEKS. — ROMAIC LANGUAGE.

I HAVE already spoken generally of the population of Ioannina; but, as the Greek portion of it is that most interesting to the stranger, from the greater facility of intercourse with this people and from their superior cultivation, I shall enter into a few details regarding the commerce, literature, and social customs of this class of the inhabitants.

Ioannina, though an inland city, and surrounded by mountains, has long had much commercial importance; and the traveller will be surprized to find here, merchants who have large connections, not only with the different parts of Turkey, but also with Germany, Italy, and Russia. The direct traffic, indeed, through Ioannina is small, compared with that in which the Greeks of the place are engaged, through their connections in foreign countries. The general origin and nature of these connections may be explained in a few words. The active spirit of the Greeks, deprived in great measure of political or national objects, has taken a general direction towards commerce. But, fettered in this respect also, by their condition on the continent of Greece, they emigrate in considerable numbers to the adjacent countries, where their activity can have more scope in the nature of the government. Some branches of the migrating families, however, are always left in Turkey, either from necessity, from the possession of property in the country; or from the convenience to both parties in a commercial point of view. Thus by

far the greater part of the exterior trade of Turkey, in the exchange of commodities, is carried on by Greek houses, which have residents at home, and branches in various cities of Europe, mutually aiding each other; and by means of the latter, extending their concerns much more variously than could be done in Turkey alone.

This description is entirely applicable to the commerce of Ioannina. Many of the merchants here have extensive continental connections, which are often family ones likewise. An instance at this time occurs to me of a Greek family, with which I was intimate, where, of four brothers, one was settled at Ioannina, another at Moscow, a third at Constantinople, and the fourth in some part of Germany; all connected together in their concerns. Many other examples of the same kind incidentally came to my knowledge. A circumstance tending to maintain this foreign relation, besides the interests which are often answered by it, is the system of Ali Pasha, never to allow a family to quit his territory, unless leaving behind some principal members of it, and their property also, to be responsible for their final return. This method of preventing emigration has the effect of retaining in Ioannina branches of all the ancient families of the place, and thereby of keeping up commercial connections, which otherwise might be transferred elsewhere.

Most of the merchants here are men who have travelled much in Europe, are well instructed in European habits, and speak several of the continental languages. Their principal connections are with Germany and Russia, an intercourse which has been maintained for a long period. The port of Trieste has generally been a great channel of Greek trade, and many Greek houses are established there, with relation to other houses in Vienna, Leipsic, and various places in the interior of Germany. The connection with Russia depends partly upon the relative situation of Greece; in some degree perhaps on the similarity of religion, and the political relation which Russia has had at times with this people. The principal branches of several Ioannina houses resided at Moscow previously to the destruction of that capital, and probably have since resumed their

situation. A large amount of Greek property was lodged in the bank there, including the funds of several public institutions, schools, &c. We were in Ioannina at the time the news of the burning of Moscow arrived; and living chiefly among merchants, could judge of the great sensation this event excited among them. The losses sustained by some individuals in the destruction of their magazines were very great; and Ioannes Mela, the young Greek already mentioned, estimated his at some thousand pounds. I had the satisfaction of afterwards learning that it was less than he at first supposed.

A considerable part of the cottons and cotton yarns of Thessaly, as well as the coarse woollen manufactures of the country, have generally been transmitted through Ioannina for exportation to Italy and Germany. Of late years, owing to the impediments to trade on this side, a larger proportion of these cottons has been forwarded by overland carriage, from Salonica and other places.

Albania, and the neighbouring districts, are in great measure supplied with articles of commercial demand through the merchants of Ioannina; this city therefore forming a depôt of much importance in the country. The commerce, adapted to the wants of the population, is of course of a very miscellaneous kind. Each merchant pursues his trade in a variety of articles, which he obtains through his connections in Germany and Italy; or latterly, to a greater extent perhaps from the island of Malta. The nature of these imports I have detailed in speaking of the commerce of the gulph of Arta, which is in fact intermediate to that of Ioannina. There is a sort of fair held in the neighbourhood of the city every autumn, which collects many people from the different districts of the country; and here the various imported goods, which pass through the merchants of Ioannina, are disposed of in retail to a large amount.

The general export trade of Albania, consisting of grain, timber, tobacco, wool, oil, &c., is conducted in part by the Ioannina merchants, in connection with their import trade. Of grain the Vizier himself is the great monopolist for exportation. The plains, adjoin-

ing the city, are rich in their produce of wheat and maize, which are sent down to be shipped at Salaora. The tobacco grown in this and other districts further to the north, is chiefly collected at Ioannina for export, and both in quantity and quality forms a commercial article of some value.

The Greeks of Ioannina are celebrated among their countrymen for their literary habits, and unquestionably merit the repute they have obtained from this source. The literature of the place is intimately connected with, and depending upon its commercial character. The wealth acquired by many of the inhabitants gives them the means of adopting such pursuits themselves, or encouraging them in others. Their connections in Germany and Italy, and frequent residence in these countries, tend further to create habits of this kind, and at the same time furnish those materials for literary progress, which would be wanting in their own country. At the present time, nearly two-thirds of the modern Greek publications are translations of European works; and whatever may be said of the powers of undirected genius, it is certainly better that for some time it should continue to be so. Such translations are often both suggested and executed abroad, and the presses at Venice, Vienna, Leipsic, Moscow, and Paris, are all made subservient to the active industry of these people in forwarding the literature of their country. The extensive traffic of the Greeks of Ioannina is further a means of rendering this city a sort of mart for books, which are brought hither from the continent when printed; and from this point diffused over other parts of Greece. At the *dogana* of Arta, I have seen numerous packages of books on their way to Ioannina, and in the city itself there are several shops, which have long been known for their extensive dealings in this branch of business.

There are two academies in the city; at which, in sequel to each other, the greater part of the young Greeks at Ioannina are instructed. The Gymnasium, if such it may be called, of Athanasius Psalida, ranks as the first of these; and has acquired some reputation from the character of the master himself, who is considered as

one of the chiefs of the literature of modern Greece. It is true that there are others who have written more; but Psalida has travelled much, is master of many languages, a good classical scholar, a sharp-sighted critic, a poet, and versed besides in various parts of the literature and science of European nations. His only avowed work, as far as I know, is one intitled, "*True Happiness, or the Basis of all Religious Worship**," in which a general tone of sceptical opinion is the predominant feature. He is the author also, but anonymously, of a singular compound of prose and poetry, called Ἐρώ]ος Αποτελεσματα, printed at Vienna in 1792; and probably may have partaken in other works with which I am unacquainted. The funds of the academy which Psalida superintends, are lodged in the bank of Moscow. He has a great number of public pupils, whom he instructs not only in the languages, but also in history, geography, and various branches of general philosophy. He has one or two assistants in his labours; but it is the reputation of his own name which maintains the character of the school.

The other academy of Ioannina is one of lower stamp, and devoted to a younger class of scholars. It is conducted at present by an elderly Greek, of the name of Valano, very respectable and industrious, but with less learning than Psalida. The father of Valano, who preceded him in this office, is the author of one or two mathematical works of some eminence in the country. The school is supported in great part by the noble benefactions of the Zosimades, one of the greatest and most wealthy of the modern Greek families. Two of the brothers of Zosima are resident in Italy, a third in Russia. I have learnt that the sums they annually transmit to Ioannina, in the form of books, of funds for the school, and of other literary benefactions, do not fall short of 20,000 piastres. This is a splendid instance of genuine and well-directed patriotism.†

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* Αληθης Ευδαιμονια, ηΐοι βασις πασης θρησκειας. Τομ. 2. Εν. Βιεννη. 1791.

† Many other instances might be cited of the generous and intelligent spirit of the Zosimades. Various books have been published and circulated at their expence for the use

Among the principal Greek families of Ioannina, there are some which have no immediate connection with trade, but live upon the property they inherit from their ancestors, or what has been more recently derived from commerce. This was the case with our host Metzou, who has an independent property, chiefly in land, amounting in English money to about 1,000*l.* a-year. Even without the exterior of an aristocracy, family antiquity and connections have a good deal of weight here, and procure respect independently of mere wealth.

The manner of living among the Greeks of Ioannina is on the whole very uniform, and rendered more so than it might otherwise be, by the political pressure under which they all bend. Though the same circumstance has its effect in limiting the extent and enjoyments of society, yet it must be allowed that in this city there is much social intercourse of a pleasant kind, at least equal in its merits to any that I have found in Spain, Portugal, or Sicily; and superior certainly to what will be met with elsewhere in Greece. The vivacity of the Greeks always gives character to their society; and in Ioannina this is aided by the intelligence and acquirements they have derived from European intercourse. There will be found here, however, as in other parts of Greece, a great disparity in this respect between the sexes, which indeed may be easily explained by the relative circumstances of each. Even in the ancient times of the country, this disparity appears to have existed; and it is not surprizing that it should have been maintained or increased by the influence of Turkish usages, operating upon a subjected people. The Grecian females of the higher class can scarcely be said to receive any education, except such as may casually be derived from their

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of the Greeks. During the last few years they have supported in this way the important work of Korai, called the Hellenic Library (Βιβλιοθηκη Ἑλληνικη), of which several volumes have already been published at Paris, containing the works of Isocrates, Plutarch, Ælian, Polyænus, Æsop, &c.

domestic associates of the other sex. They have none of the advantages which the men obtain from travel, but are secluded in great measure from admixture with the world, and seldom leave the galleries or apartments of their own houses, but when going to attend the services of the church, or to enjoy the luxury of the warm baths. Custom has gone yet further; in denying to a betrothed couple the privilege of seeing each other till the moment of marriage,—a usage which may be supposed peculiarly injurious to the female party; and which, though often infringed upon, yet, generally speaking, is maintained with strictness by all the *orthodox* Greek families. I have known an instance where an excellent young man, who had travelled much and gained many accomplishments, was ardently desirous of seeing and instructing himself the young girl to whom he was betrothed from family considerations. The thing, however, was impossible. Her family warmly opposed the desire; and the moment the lover was known to be approaching the house, she was hurried away to an apartment where she might be secluded from his sight. In another instance I was present at a Greek marriage, where the bride and bridegroom had actually never met before. The lady indeed "thought she had seen her husband once in the church, but was not certain if it were really the same person."

The Greek women are married when very young, a circumstance which further intercepts any thing like education in early life. I have known girls betrothed when not more than ten or eleven; and they are frequently married at the age of thirteen or fourteen. In these countries, as is well known, human life is some steps beforehand in its progress to maturity; is earlier also in the commencement of decay. Little cause have we to envy a climate which shortens the bloom of youth, and the beauty of adult age; takes from the period of mental education, and thereby renders the long latter stage of life more burdensome in itself, and less graceful and dignified in the eyes of others. The dependence and inferiority of women in the East, whatever are its other causes, may certainly be attributed in great

part to that different proportion in the stages of life, which makes them for a few years the play-things of man, afterwards the subjects of his contempt and disregard.

The effect of these circumstances is distinctly marked in the Greek women, notwithstanding a grace, or even refinement of manner, which gives for the time a sanction to the want of other accomplishments. Their conversation, though generally lively, yet is deficient in variety; they read but little, and are affected with many superstitious feelings and practices. There is an air of indolence in the carriage of a Greek lady, which, though alluring perhaps to the stranger from attitude, dress, and a reference to oriental custom, would soon lose its charm in the fatigue of uniformity. All the movements are slow and languid, and the occupations which occur are performed with a sort of listlessness, that seems ever passing again into a state of inaction. Yet it must be allowed, that there is in these women a feminine softness of manner, which wins admiration; as there is also in their habit and style of dress, something which gains upon the fancy, in its relation to the costume and magnificence of the East. Their address is usually graceful and engaging; and both in the course of medical practice and otherwise, I have met with Greek females of the higher class at Ioannina, whose propriety of demeanour might have fitted them for most European circles.

Repressed, however, by the customs and necessities already alluded to, they take little more than an inactive or negative part in society. Though not secluded from intercourse with the men who visit their houses, whether Greeks or foreigners, they seldom exchange visits with other families, or partake in any common social amusements. Their female friends they chiefly see when at the baths; and this probably forms an inducement to pass more time there than is desireable for health, or even for personal beauty, which suffers materially in most instances from the general relaxation of habit thus brought on. At home they are occupied in the general direction of their domestic concerns, a task rendered little laborious from the greater simplicity which belongs to the Greek manner of living, as well as from the

numerous female domestics attached to a Greek family. In the number of female attendants, and also in the familiarity they maintain with their mistresses, may be recognized a feature of the customs of ancient Greece, as we have them from the dramatic and other writers. The nurse, in particular, always forms a principal person in the household; and obtains a veneration from the family, which likewise belonged to the ancient customs of the country. The Greek lady, with some of those servants in her train, may be seen at times walking up and down the shaded galleries of the house; her most frequent occupation that of twisting silk thread; her movement taking an air of indolence from the dragging walk which is rendered necessary by the loose slippers she wears. At other times, her slippers thrown off, she is seen reclining, in the manner of the country, on the couches of an inner apartment; the rich and ample drapery of her dress flowing loosely around; her common employment, if she has any, the working of embroidery, or twisting of silk thread. Here she generally receives any visitors who may arrive, the master of the house at the same time smoking with his friends on the adjoining couches.

The traveller who merely resides at Athens may object to this picture of the Grecian women, as exhibiting greater social restraint than that to which they are actually exposed. But it must be remarked, that in Athens their situation is somewhat peculiar, owing in part to the predominance of the Greeks over the Turks in this city; still more to the frequent intercourse with European travellers who visit, or are resident in the place. The situation of the Athenian females is one of greater freedom; and they indulge in various forms of amusement, which are almost unknown in the more rigid society of Ioannina.

A slight sketch of the manner in which we lived, during our residence in the latter place, may afford the reader a better idea of the domestic and social usages of the modern Greeks, than could be given by any general remarks on this subject. Our host has already been mentioned as a man of independent property, and ancient family. Though seemingly fortunate, however, in external condition,

a cast of melancholy had been given to a mind naturally gentle and timid, by various occurrences of life. His father had been killed by the hands of a Turk; he himself at one time had felt his life in danger, and there was obviously a sense of constant apprehension hanging upon his spirits, less perhaps for his own, than for the safety of his family. I speak it from the experience of much intercourse with him, when I say that I have seldom known so generous and affectionate a temper, or one that bore with such meekness the burden that weighed upon his mind. His wife, with more vivacity and much beauty, had the same excellent qualities of heart, and their domestic relations were evidently of the most exemplary kind. Their family consisted of two sons, two daughters, and an elderly lady nearly related to our host. The eldest daughter, at this time eleven years old, was a pretty and engaging girl; the boys, Alexius and Stephanos, still younger, and the most perfect models of juvenile beauty I ever recollect to have seen; the Grecian style of countenance already formed in both, and set off by the open forehead, and by the long hair flowing down behind from under the small red cap, which is worn on the top of the head. This custom of shaving the hair from the forehead has been noticed as common among all the Albanian soldiers, and it is in fact general with every class throughout this country. It may, I believe, be recognized as the remnant of a usage which was not unknown in the ancient times of Greece.*

The habitation of our host resembled those which are common in the country. Externally to the street, nothing is seen but a high stone wall, with the summit of a small part of the inner building. Large double gates conduct you into an outer area, from which you pass through other gates into an inner square, surrounded on three sides by the buildings of the house. The basement story is con-

* Plutarch (in vit. Thes.) speaks of Theseus as shaving the fore-part of his head, to offer the hair at Delphi; and Homer gives to the Abantes of Eubœa the epithet of οπιθεν κομοωντες, which, as a description, accurately applies to the Albanian of these times. Il. lib. ii. v. 542.

structed of stone, the upper part of the structure almost entirely of wood. A broad gallery passes along two sides of the area, open in front, and shaded over-head by the roof of the building. To this gallery you ascend by a flight of stairs; the doors which conduct to the different living rooms of the house all going from it. In this country it is uncommon, except with the lower classes, to live upon the ground-floor, which is therefore generally occupied as out-buildings; the first floor being that always inhabited by the family. In the house of our host there were four or five which might be called living rooms, furnished with couches, carpets, and looking-glasses, which, with the decorations of the ceiling and walls, may be considered as almost the only appendages to a Grecian apartment. The principal room (or what with us would be the drawing-room) was large, lofty, and decorated with much richness. Its height was sufficient for a double row of windows along three sides of the apartment; all these windows, however, being small, and so situated as merely to admit light, without allowing any external view. The ceiling was profusely ornamented with painting and gilding upon carved wood, the walls divided into pannels, and decorated in the same way with the addition of several pier-glasses. A couch or divan, like those described in the Seraglio, passed along three sides of the apartment, and superseded equally the use of chairs and tables, which are but rarely found in a Greek house.

The dining-room was also large, but furnished with less decoration, and the same with the other living apartments. The kitchen and servants' rooms were connected by a passage with the great gallery; but this gallery itself formed a privileged place to all the members of the family, and it was seldom that some of the domestics might not be seen here partaking in the sports of the children, and using a familiarity with their superiors, which is sufficiently common in the south of Europe, but very unusual in England. Bed-chambers are not to be sought for in Greek or Turkish habitations. The sofas of their living apartments are the place of nightly repose with the higher classes; the floor with those of inferior rank. Upon the sofas are

spread their cotton or woollen mattrasses, cotton sheets, sometimes with worked muslin trimmings, and ornamented quilts. Neither men nor women take off more than a small part of their dress; and the lower classes seldom make any change whatever before throwing themselves down among the coarse woollen cloaks which form their nightly covering. In this point, the Oriental customs are greatly more simple than those of civilized Europe.

The separate communication of the rooms with an open gallery renders the Greek houses very cold in winter, of which I had reason to be convinced during both my residences at Ioannina. The higher class of Greeks seldom use any other means of artificial warmth than a brazier of charcoal placed in the middle of the apartment, trusting to their pelisses and thick clothing for the rest. Sometimes the brazier is set under a table, covered with a thick rug cloth, which falls down nearly to the floor. The heat is thus confined, and the feet of those sitting round the table, acquire soon an agreeable warmth, which is diffused to the rest of the body.

The family of Metzou generally rose before eight o'clock. Their breakfast consisted simply of one or two cups of coffee, served up with a salver of sweet-meats, but without any more substantial food. In consideration to our grosser morning appetites, bread, honey, and rice milk were added to the repast which was set before us. Our host, who was always addressed with the epithet of Affendi by his children and domestics, passed much of the morning in smoking, in walking up and down the gallery, or in talking with his friends who called upon him. Not being engaged in commerce, and influenced perhaps by his natural timidity, he rarely quitted the house; and I do not recollect to have seen him more than five or six times beyond the gates of the area of his dwelling. His lady meanwhile was engaged either in directing her household affairs, in working embroidery, or in weaving silk thread. The boys were occupied during a part of the morning in learning to read and write the Romaic with a young man who officiated as pedagogue; the mode of instruction not differing much from that common elsewhere.

The dinner hour of the family was usually between twelve and one, but from compliance to us, they delayed it till two o'clock. Summoned to the dining-room, a female domestic, in the usage of the East, presented to each person in succession a large bason with soap, and poured tepid water upon the hands from a brazen ewer. This finished, we seated ourselves at the table, which was simply a circular pewter tray, still called *Trapeza*, placed upon a stool, and without cloth or other appendage. The dinner consisted generally of ten or twelve dishes, presented singly at the table by an Albanian servant, clad in his national costume. The dishes afforded some, though not great variety; and the enumeration of those at one dinner may suffice as a general example of the common style of this repast in a Greek family of the higher class: — First, a dish of boiled rice flavoured with lemon juice; then a plate of mutton boiled to rags; another plate of mutton cooked with spinach or onions, and rich sauces; a Turkish dish composed of force meat with vegetables, made into balls; another Turkish dish, which appears as a large flat cake, the outside of a rich and greasy paste, the inside composed of eggs, vegetables, with a small quantity of meat: following this, a plate of baked mutton, with raisins and almonds, boiled rice with oil, omelet balls, a dish of thin cakes made of flour, eggs, and honey; or sometimes in lieu of these, small cakes made of flour, coffee, and eggs; and the repast finished by a desert of grapes, raisins, and chesnuts. But for the presence of strangers, the family would have eat in common from the dishes successively brought to the table; and even with separate plates before them, this was frequently done. The thin wine of the country was drunk during the repast; but neither in eating or drinking is it common for the Greeks to indulge in excess.

The dinner tray removed, the basin and ewer were again carried round, — a practice which is seldom omitted even among the inferior classes in this country. After an interval of a few minutes, a glass of liquor and coffee was handed to us, and a Turkish pipe presented to any one who desired it. In summer a short *siesta* is generally taken at this hour, but now it was not considered necessary. After passing

an hour or two on the couches of the apartment, some visitors generally arrived, and the family moved to the larger room before described. These visitors were Greeks of the city, some of them relations, others friends of the family, who did not come on formal invitation, but in an unreserved way, to pass some part of the evening in conversation. This mode of society is common in Ioannina, and, but that the women take little part in it, might be considered extremely pleasant. When a visitor enters the apartment he salutes, and is saluted, by the right hand placed on the heart, a method of address at once simple and dignified. Seated on the couch, sweetmeats, coffee, and a pipe are presented to him; and these form in fact the only requisitions of the visitors from their hosts. The Greeks are scarcely less fond of smoking than the Turks: the *chibouk*, or long Turkish pipe, is indispensable as one of their daily luxuries; and almost every individual carries about with him a small bag of tobacco, from which to draw its supplies. It must be noticed that the Turkish tobacco in general, and particularly that of Syria, is much less harsh than the American, probably less narcotic also; and in this, as well as in the greater elegance and comfort of the pipe, there are motives to the usage of smoking which we do not in England equally possess.

This evening society at the house of our host was a source both of pleasure and information to us. The lively and social temper of the Greeks, and their eagerness for intercourse with European travellers, brought a great number to see us, and we formed acquaintance here with many of the principal merchants, and most of the literary characters of the city. At the head of the latter class was Athanasius Psalida, the master of the academy of Ioannina. The writings and repute of this Greek have before been mentioned, and he does not allow his talents to be hidden from those around him. In Latin, Greek, French, Italian, German, or Russ, he is continually pouring out a flood of conversation on every topic that can come before him, but with an obvious predilection for such topics as have relation to the arts, the literature, and the glory of his own country, which he never fails to identify with the ancient Greece. His bias on this

point is openly, and at once displayed. Scarcely had I been five minutes with him before he began to complain of the ingratitude of European nations, in not repaying to the Greeks of this day the benefits they had derived from their ancestors. "What should we have been but for the arts, the instruction, the example of the Grecian worthies? The modern descendants of these men had the same capacity for becoming great, and opportunity and *some slight aid* alone were wanting to enable them to shew their qualities, and to take their place among nations. It might happen (and he spoke this with some sarcastic asperity) that they should one day come to reclaim what had been plundered from them of their ancient treasures." This topic of the ingratitude of civilized Europe towards their country is a favourite one with every Greek, and they dwell upon it even to tediousness with every stranger who will afford his ear to them. Notwithstanding their political degradation, there is a high tone of national vanity among the Greeks; in part that of ancestry, partly derived from a sense of their own active talent and intellectual superiority to the Turks who surround them. In conversation they are inclined to be sententious and argumentative. They have a number of proverbs in their language, many of them pointed and well conceived, and these they are much in the habit of *using. The ambition of shewing themselves enlightened and free from prejudice is very common; and to this cause in part, but still more to the superstitious observances with which their national religion abounds, may be attributed the frequent scepticism that prevails among the literary class of the modern Greeks. Psalida has considerable information in modern science, which he has acquired in Germany and elsewhere; but his mind seems more engaged by those studies which savour a little of the ancient philosophy of the schools. He has a laudable zeal for the progress of modern Greek literature, and much enthusiasm for the poetry of this language. I have heard him

* I have in my possession a list of more than 140 of these proverbs.

recite and expound for an hour together the Lyric verses of Athanasius Christopulo, which, in common with many other Greeks, he considers as the finest of their modern poetry, and little inferior in merit to that of Anacreon himself.*

Another of our visitors at the house of Metzou, was the physician George Sakallarius, one of the medical attendants on the Vizier. This Greek, now about fifty years of age, was educated at the medical school of Vienna, and for a long period has practised his profession at Ioannina. He, as well as Psalida, enjoys considerable reputation among his countrymen, and has deserved it by his zeal for their literature and improvement. He is the author of several works, original as well as translated. His "Greek Archæology" was published at Vienna in 1795, and two years afterwards a translation of the first volume of the Travels of Anacharsis, a work he has not yet completed. At the same place he published two Romaic melo-dramas, entitled, "Orpheus and Eurydice," and "Ulysses and Calypso." He was at this time engaged in translating Cousin d'Espreux's History of Greece, a work in sixteen volumes, of which he had already completed ten†. Sakallarius is, I believe, the only one among his countrymen who has interested himself in the collection of Grecian coins; and his own assiduity, aided by the facilities of a residence on the spot, have enabled him to form a cabinet of no mean value. This cabinet I examined, when a second time at Ioannina, and found it particularly rich in the rare coins of Epirus, Acarnania, and the

* I have an edition of the Lyrics of Christopulo (Ερωτικα και Βακχικα) printed in 1811. There is certainly much merit in the poetry of this little volume; an ease, vivacity, and lightness of humour which may allow the Greeks to boast with reason of their modern Anacreontics. I have seen a Romaic grammar, entitled, Γραμματικη Αιολω-Δωρικη, by the same author; so entitled from an opinion he holds, that the Romaic is a derivative from these two dialects. Christopulo is now resident at Constantinople.

† This will be the second important translation of Grecian history which has been given to the Greeks by their countrymen of Ioannina. A translation of Rollin's Ancient History, in seventeen volumes, was published at Venice in 1750, by Alexander Kankellariu, a native of this city.

different cities and isles on this coast of Greece. When at Vienna, Sakallarius had studied medicine under Franck; and together with much veneration for his master, I found a strong bias, both in opinion and practice, towards the doctrines of that eminent physician.

Another medical man, who very often visited us, was Signore Metaxa, a Cephaloniote by birth, who had studied some time at Paris, and a year or two before our arrival at Ioannina, had been appointed one of the physicians of the Vizier. His education had given him very different opinions from those of his colleague, but his medical knowledge was extremely accurate, and from his residence in France he had derived much knowledge both of the literature and science of modern Europe.

The third physician of the Vizier was at this time absent, in attendance upon Veli Pasha at Larissa. These three medical attendants have each 6000 piastres, or somewhat more than 300*l.* per annum, with the privilege of practising to any extent in the city, which probably may nearly double their income. Considering the mode of life among the Greeks, these professional gains are sufficient both for respectability and comfort. There are several other medical men in Ioannina, of whom those in most repute are Koletti and Chiprasli, both natives of the country. The former, who is a physician to Mouctar Pasha, I did not see until my second visit to Ioannina. He is the author of a pretty little chemical treatise in the Romaic language, chiefly occupied in an ingenious discussion of the modern doctrines of heat*, and has prepared also for publication, translations of Johnson's Rasselas, of the Geometry of Legendre, and the Arithmetic of Biot.

The medical character is held in much repute throughout Greece; and as the Greek physicians have generally travelled and studied at foreign universities, there is some cause for this comparative reputation. I have generally found them acute and well-informed men;

* This treatise is entitled, Ἰδεα γενικη περι τινων ἰδιοτητων τῶν Σωματων, καὶ περι τῆς φυσεως καὶ τῶν ἰδιοτητων τῦ Θερμαντικῦ. Leghorn. 1806.

zealous in their profession; and, the department of surgery excepted, probably not inferior to any of their brethern in the south of Europe. Their education in Germany and Italy, particularly in the latter of these countries, has had the effect of infusing into many of them the Brunonian doctrine, in some one or other of its modifications, and there is scarcely a physician in Greece with whom the names of Brown and Darwin are not familiar; or who will not make it an early object of inquiry, what reputation the men and doctrines have acquired in their own country. During my two residences in Albania; I had occasion to attend several patients, both Greeks and Turks, together with the physicians of Ioannina; and I recollect one instance, where I met four of them in consultation upon the case of an interesting young man, named Tassula, a native of one of the Macedonian cantons, and secretary to the Vizier. There was always a perfect courtesy in these consultations, and a careful consideration of the symptoms, with more tendency however to system and theory than are usual in modern English practice.

Even the dejected political state of the Greeks has not precluded the use of certain titles, applied as distinctions to particular classes of society. Those who have the situation of Archons, or other magisterial office, are generally spoken of and addressed with the epithet of *Eugenestatos* or *Entimotatos*; a merchant with that of *Timiotatos*; a physician as *Exochotatos*; and a schoolmaster with the long prefixture of *Sophologistatos*. Even the ordinary singer in the churches has his title of *Musikologiotatos*, which is given with all due forms of usage. However the question of such distinctions may stand elsewhere, one is here almost tempted to apply the saying of Longinus; Τῳ κοινῷ βιῳ ὀδὲν ὑπαρχει μεγα, ᾧ το καταφρονειν ες μεγα. In common life, nothing is great which it is great to despise.

The evening parties at the house of our host made us acquainted with several of the principal merchants of Ioannina; and the medical practice I had, both now and on my return to the city, greatly extended this intimacy. We found them for the most part well-informed men,

shrewd in their remarks, and shewing a degree of civility which could not fail to be gratifying to us.

There is something highly satisfactory indeed to national feeling in the reception an Englishman finds, as well here as in other parts of Greece. It is true that the present politics of Ali Pasha have contributed in Albania to this effect; but this influence is only a partial cause; and the more principal reasons are to be found in the number of English travellers who frequent the country; in the character of their pursuits, and in the enthusiam they testify for the memorials of ancient Greece, a point that is more or less interesting to the feelings of every modern Greek. Something, too, of this national respect for the English may be attributed to political causes; to the knowledge they all have of the relation of England to the rest of Europe; and especially of our growing influence in the Mediterranean, an influence which one party in Greece hope may some time be directed to their own liberation. Another and more ordinary cause is the disposition of an Englishman to spend or give his money, which of course never fails in procuring advocates or friends. In this country, as well as in Spain and Sicily, I have often been assiduously questioned as to the sources of our wealth, which the enquirers themselves are usually disposed to consider as coming altogether from our Oriental possessions. The Greeks, however, are less liable to this mistake than others; their own merchants, particularly in some of the islands, having well ascertained the influence of an active commerce in promoting wealth. Many also of the Ioannina merchants have acquired large property; and in their habitations, as well as mode of living, there is a display of this on a very considerable scale. The houses of Stavro, of Demetrius Athanasius, and several others, are of great extent, and furnished in a style of much luxury. It may be remarked, however, in general, that the current expences of a Greek family are not large, and their long and repeated fasts, as well as the comparative simplicity of their diet, would reduce these expences below the

level common to most nations, even without reference to the ordinary prices of the country. It will be seen, too, that their forms of society are attended with little expenditure, and their public amusements rare, and of the most limited kind.

Among the Greek merchants whom we knew at Ioannina, one of the most agreeable was Ioannes Mela, whose name has been more than once mentioned in the foregoing narrative. We found in this young man great intelligence and propriety of judgment; and more accurate views, I think, regarding the present state and future prospects of Greece, than I met with elsewhere. The education he had received in travelling, he continued to himself by his own exertions at home. Residing in a large family mansion, with an aged mother, he had built in his gardens a small library, neatly furnished, provided with a piano-forte, and a good collection of books, as well Romaic as German and French. Among those of the first class, I observed a modern Greek translation of Laplace's *Systeme du Monde*, a book I do not recollect to have seen in any other place.

Two or three Greek priests entered occasionally into the society at our host's, but they bore an inferior part in it. This class of men labours under disadvantages throughout every part of Greece, which do not equally belong to medicine or to trade. The general smallness of their stipends brings most of them from an inferior class of society; their means of education are limited both by habit and necessity; and they but seldom enjoy the opportunities of travelling obtained by other Greeks. There are many exceptions to the statement, yet it may be said generally that a smaller proportion of the literature of the country has come from the Greek clergy, than from other classes of the community.

Cards are sometimes introduced into our evening parties, but I do not recollect ever to have seen a chess-board. The national and pleasing dance of the Romaika, appears to be less common in

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*. The names of Eugenius, Nicephorus, Meletius, &c. may be mentioned among other exceptions to this statement.

Albania than in the Morea and other parts of Greece; perhaps an effect of the more frequent use of the Albanitiko, or Albanian dance, in this part of the country. There is an extreme difference in the character of the two dances; the latter, wild, uncouth, and abounding in strange gestures; the Romaika, graceful, though sometimes lively, and well fitted to display the beauty of attitude in the human form. Both are supposed to have been derived, with more or less of change, from the ancient times of Greece; and the claim of the Romaika in particular to a classical origin appears to have some reality. Its history has been connected with the dance invented at Delos, when Theseus came hither from Crete, to commemorate the adventure of Ariadne and the Cretan Labyrinth; and the character of its movements has much correspondence with those described by Plutarch, in his life of Theseus. The Ariadne of the dance is selected either in rotation, or from some habitual deference to youth and beauty. She holds in her left hand a white handkerchief, the clue to Theseus, who follows next in the dance; having the other end of the handkerchief in his right hand, and giving his left to a second female. The alternation of the sexes, hand in hand, then goes on to any number. The chief action of the dance devolves upon the two leaders, the others merely following their movements, generally in a sort of circular outline, and with a step alternately advancing and receding to the measures of the music. The leading female, with an action of the arms and figure directed by her own choice, conducts her lover, as he may be supposed, in a winding and labyrinthic course, each of them constantly varying their movements, partly in obedience to the music, which is either slow and measured, or more lively and impetuous; partly from the spirit of the moment, and the suggestion of their own taste. This rapid and frequent change of figure, together with the power of giving expression and creating novelty, renders the Romaika a very pleasing dance; and perhaps among the best of those which have become national, since the plan of its movement allows scope both to the learned and unlearned in the art. In a ball-room at Athens, I

have seen it performed with great effect. Still more I have enjoyed its exhibition in some Arcadian villages; where in the spring of the year, and when the whole country was glowing with beauty, groupes of youth of both sexes were assembled amidst their habitations, circling round in the mazes of this dance; with flowing hair, and a dress picturesque enough, even for the outline which fancy frames of Arcadian scenery. It is impossible to look upon the Romaika without the suggestion of antiquity; as well in the representation we have upon marbles and vases, as in the description of similar movements by the poets of that age.

In exterior habits and dress, the Greeks of higher class at Ioannina, and in the southern part of Albania, exhibit little peculiarity from their countrymen elsewhere. In the case of the men, the head, from which the hair is entirely removed in the front, is covered with the *calpac*; a tall white felt cap, without brim, and sometimes surmounted by a square tablet of cloth stuffed with wool.* The rest of the dress resembles a good deal that of the Turks; small yellow leather boots are generally worn, and there is a pretty general license as to the colours of the dress, except in the instance of green, which is presumed to be worn only by the Turkish *Emirs*, or those who claim a place in the descent from the Prophet.

The female dress among the Greeks is characterized by a luxuriance of ornament, which I think I have observed in greater degree at Ioannina than elsewhere. A Greek lady puts nature entirely under the controul of art; and though in the hair, the veil, and the zone, there are many resemblances to antient costume, yet the comparative lightness of the antient drapery, as we have it in statues, &c. will not be recognized in the more cumbrous and richly decorated robes of the modern females. The cultivation and ornament of the hair is a matter of the first moment; and whatever be thought of the artificial colour they give it, it must be acknow-

* With the origin of the Greek *calpac* I am unacquainted, but there is reason, I believe, to suppose they were worn in the later periods of the Greek empire.

ledged that there is frequently much gracefulness in the long twisted ringlets, or loose flowing masses in which it is disposed. This artificial tint is procured by the use of a vegetable powder, brought from Africa, and sold by retail in the shops of the country. The powder, which is of a greyish green colour, I believe to be obtained from the *Lawsonia inermis*. The stain it gives to the hair will scarcely admit of the epithet golden, but has a more strict resemblance (however unclassical the comparison may be) to that of mahogany wood; varying in deepness of colour either from the more profuse employment of the powder, or from some difference in the original colouring matter of the hair. The practice of giving this tint is begun at an early age; the youngest daughter of our host, scarcely ten years old, had already long stained ringlets, which hung far down over her neck and shoulders. When married, however, the women dismiss this colour, and take in lieu of it, a deep black, a tint unquestionably more pleasing, though less gaudy. Numerous other ornaments are added to the head dress; pearls, gold-wire, gold and silver coins, &c. The girls even of higher rank frequently wear a small circular piece of red cloth on the crown of the head, to which are attached successive rows of such coins, with pearls and other decorations; and this practice of carrying the current money of the country as an ornament to the person, is still more frequent among the lower classes both of Greek and Albanian females.

The full dress of a Grecian lady requires yet further violations of nature. As in the ancient times of Greece, they use a variety of paints for their complexions; they colour and thicken the eye-brows, frequently also joining the two together; they blacken the eye-lashes; and give a pink stain to the nails. All these decorations are employed more profusely, and with greater infringement upon good taste, in the instance of the marriage ceremony, and other religious festivals. A Greek bride is ornamented with a sort of luxurious artifice, which even fatigues the eye by its complication and incongruity. Her attendants partake in some degree of the same gaudy attire, and I have seen a young girl just come from a

bridal feast, with the appendage of a round spot of gold leaf underneath each eye, the cheeks at the same time coloured to excess. It would be tedious, nor should I be able, to enter into all the details of the cosmetic arts, which the Grecian women employ. The other parts of their dress may more easily be described;—an open and flowing gown with full sleeves, frequently made of silk and richly embroidered; an inner vest also richly worked; their muslin drawers covered by the gown; coloured stockings and shoes; in cold weather a satin furred pelisse; a long and rich veil, which is disposed by the Greek women with a singular gracefulness; and the zone, resting upon the hips, with an obliquity corresponding in some degree to the natural form; and held down in front by two massive silver bosses, which connect its two extremities. This zone is distinct from the waist, which is formed by the folds of the dress below the bosom, and might be unpleasant to the eye in giving the effect of a second waist, were not the fancy, called in by the image of the ancient Cestus, to which in various respects it has a strong resemblance. *

Comparing the Greeks generally with other people in the south of Europe, they have, I think, a manifest superiority both in countenance and form. Making every allowance for dress, there is a breadth and a manliness of figure, which may be considered, I believe, as national; and an outline of countenance which is equally national, and which strongly brings to mind the models afforded by the sculptures of ancient Greece. The facial angle is larger than in most other communities; the features are usually broad, open, and animated. The Turkish physiognomy, though itself handsome, is widely different from the Greek; and it is singular to the traveller, to see on one soil an intermixture of two people, so striking, and at the same time so distinct in their respective characters, physical and moral.

* The relation of the modern Greek female dress to that of ancient costume, will be obvious in several particulars. The long catalogue of dresses we have in the Epidicus of Plautus, (Act. ii. scen. 2.) will afford some resemblances, and probably might give others, did we better understand the exact meaning of all his terms.

The language spoken by the Greeks of Ioannina is considered as one of the best forms of the Romaic, and it perhaps in some degree merits this distinction. I do not here enter into any details regarding this language, the enquiry as to the progress of its changes from the ancient Greek, and as to its present state in grammar, construction, and pronunciation having already been pursued by several writers, and the result of their labours made known to the public*. I may remark generally, without reference to the particular dialects of Athens, Constantinople, Zakonia, &c. that the relation of the Romaic to the Hellenic (as the ancient Greek is still called in this country) is much the same, in respect to degree of change, as that of Italian to Latin; that the principal presumed, or certain differences are,—in the sound of particular consonants and diphthongs; in the adoption of the pronunciation by accent; in the loss of the dual number and middle voice; in the absence of the dative case, which is usually supplied by the accusative with a preposition; in the large use of the auxiliary verbs θελω and ἐχω; and in the formation of the infinitive by the particle να, prefixed to the persons of the present tense, and the first aorist of the subjunctive. These grammatical changes seem indeed important, and others might be specified in the use of the pronouns, adverbs, &c.; but still, when the change in pronunciation is surmounted, the stranger in Greece will find much facility in taking up the language from the general identity in most of the radicals. Still more easily will he peruse the Romaic writings, which, as is natural perhaps with such a people as the modern Greeks, have deserted in some measure the spoken language, and sought to approximate them-

* The most recent and most complete exposition of the Romaic language will be found in Major Leake's Researches in Greece. Mr. Hobhouse has given much valuable and interesting information on the same subject. The intereting topic of the progressive substitution of accent for quantity, and the gradual adoption of accent in Greek poetry, during the twelfth and succeeding centuries, is treated of at some length in these works, and a further discussion of it might now be regarded as superfluous.

selves more to the ancient Greek standard. This tendency appears to have considerably increased of late years; and many writers in prose of these times have assiduously endeavoured to form their style on the model of Thucydides, and to increase the power of the language as to compound words.

It may certainly be made a matter of question, whether this disposition to separate the written and spoken language is not carried too far, since it is doubtful whether the former can ever be effective in raising and fixing the standard of the latter. Yet this appears to have happened to a certain extent in several languages, the English and Italian among others; and if there is a chance of it in the Romaic, we may applaud those modern Greek writers who are contributing to the effect. Korai of Chios, an author of merited eminence, is zealous in the cause, and has exerted himself in forwarding it by his writings*. The discussion produced by this has given rise to a singular comedy in three acts, called the Κορακιςικὰ, ἡ διορθωμα τῆς Ρωμαικης γλωσσης, written by Jacobus Rizi. The humour of this comedy, which I have by me in manuscript, turns in great part upon the affectation of these classical changes, and particularly on that of using long compound words.†

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* Korai has been spoken of in another place as the author of the Hellenic Library. His residence at Paris has given him the opportunity of publishing other works, as well original as translated. Among the latter are the Æthiopics of Heliodorus, Beccaria on Crimes and Punishments, Hippocrates on Air, and the Characters of Theophrastus; the two last translated into French, with notes in the same language. About two years ago he published a grammatical disquisition on the Romaic language, which, I believe, is valuable. Korai bore a considerable part in the edition of the French Strabo.

† One of the characters in this comedy desires that he may have for his repast, "ελαδιοζιδιοαλατολαχανοκαλυκευματα;" somewhat an exaggeration of humour, it must be allowed. The same Rizi has written two tragedies, of which the kindness of Mr. North has procured me manuscript copies. One is called Aspasia, and takes as its main incident the death of Pericles from the plague, an event certainly tragical enough. The other, which consists of five acts, has the story of Polyxene as its basis.

I may briefly notice, that besides those already mentioned, several other Greeks of Ioannina have distinguished themselves by their writings; and that many works now exist here in manuscript, waiting only the opportunities of publication. Whatever be thought of the progress or actual state of the Greeks in other respects, it is certain that their literature has been improving of late years, and with it doubtless their love of liberty, and the character of their social and domestic habits.

CHAP. IX.

MEDICAL ATTENDANCE UPON ALI PASHA. — GENERAL INTERCOURSE, AND STYLE OF CONVERSATION WITH HIM. — FURTHER ANECDOTES OF HIS CHARACTER AND HABITS. — HIS JUDICIAL CHARACTER. — THE HARAM. — THE FEELING TOWARDS HIM FROM DIFFERENT CLASSES OF HIS SUBJECTS. — MEDICAL ATTENDANCE UPON SOME OF HIS TURKISH OFFICERS.

WHILE enjoying in our residence at Ioannina, all these novelties of spectacle, society, and mode of life, my intercourse with the Vizier became very frequent, by the medical relation to him in which I was placed. It will be remembered that in our first interview, he expressed his desire of consulting me upon his complaints. A day or two afterwards he again sent for us to the Seraglio, and some general conversation having taken place, he asked several questions which evidently had relation to this subject, and formed a sort of exercise of his judgement upon me. When leaving him, he stated his intention of sending for me privately, that he might explain fully the nature of his complaints, and obtain my opinion upon them. This took place the following day. While dining with M. Pouquéville, one of the black slaves of the Seraglio brought me a note from Colovo, saying that the Vizier wished to see me. I immediately went to the Seraglio, and was conducted into a chamber, in a part of the building that was yet unknown to me; the room less splendid than those in which I had before seen the Vizier, yet painted with much gaudiness, and all the furniture of the couches richly embroidered. Here I found Ali Pasha sitting on a couch near the fire, the *dragoman* standing before him, and several armed attendants at the lower end of the apartment. The latter, on my arrival, were dismissed, and the Vizier without delay entered on the subject for which he had desired my presence. He first explained through the

interpreter, that he had been very anxious to consult an English physician upon his complaints, and that he was happy the occasion had occurred by my arrival at Ioannina. He added that I might consider myself as confidentially speaking with him through Colovo; who was one of his oldest servants, and knew much of the history of his past life.

After this preamble, he entered upon a narrative of his complaints, which, though I could only distantly follow it in his own language, yet was evidently marked by good precision and force in the manner of relation. He continued speaking for about fifteen minutes, and afforded me during this time a fine occasion of marking the features of his countenance and manner. The narrative was translated to me with little abridgement, and much seeming accuracy, by the *dragoman* Colovo. In its substance, I may remark generally, that there was a good deal of credulity and prejudice displayed on some points; on others more soundness of judgement than is common to the Turks as a nation. For various reasons, I do not feel myself at liberty to give the particulars of this narrative, nor would they afford any thing new to the medical reader. It may suffice to say that at this time he was suffering under no acute disorder; that his symptoms were chiefly of a chronic nature, depending partly upon his age, partly upon circumstances in his former life, with other symptoms that I learnt more from my own observation than his report, which required the use of preventive means, to obviate eventual danger.

After Colovo had translated his narrative, I proposed the various questions which it suggested to me, and examined into the case as accurately as was possible through an interpreter, not himself a medical man. The whole consultation lasted nearly two hours. Though prepared on most points to give immediate advice, yet I thought it well to ask a day for the consideration of the case; and promised at the expiration of this time, to give my opinion in writing, a method which I conceived more likely to procure a steady compliance with the means I should recommend. The Vizier

seemed pleased with the idea, and expressed his wish to see me again soon, that he might state any thing additional that occurred to him.

I was at the Seraglio accordingly the next day, with Signore Metaxa, through whom, as being himself a physician, I had more facility in conversing with the Vizier. He now related to me other circumstances about his health; some of them imaginary, others of a trifling nature. He had some fears of dropsy of the abdomen, and told me, if I recollect well, that his father or some one of his family had died of that complaint. I was enabled by examination, to assure him that there were no grounds for this alarm. From Metaxa, whose observations were those of an intelligent physician, I learnt various particulars, which I could less easily obtain from the Vizier, and which materially assisted me in my view of the case. I drew up, without further delay, a written opinion upon it, with my advice as to the means, which were now, or might prospectively become, desirable to be pursued. This paper, which was written in Italian, I presented to the Vizier at my next interview with him. He desired it to be immediately read in Romaic; which was done by Colovo, with a translation as exact as might be made at the moment. He then ordered that it should be written out verbatim in Romaic; and when I visited the Seraglio the following day, it was again read to him in this language. He listened with great attention, and asked several questions arising out of the opinions I had given. This finished, he was profuse in his expressions of acknowledgment; promised a compliance with the means I had advised, and stated his design of adopting some of them the same day.

Succeeding to this interview I had two or three others, which were partly medical, partly occupied in general topics of conversation. In the first of those which occurred after I had presented my opinion, he solicited me with much earnestness to remain at Ioannina as his physician, and spoke of his willingness to assent to any terms that I might require for this service. On my declining

this proposal in a decided manner, he expressed his desire that I should at least remain with him one year; a plan which on various accounts I also thought it desirable to decline; alleging in excuse those only of my reasons which related to my future plans in England, and keeping silence upon others, which had reference to the nature of his own court and government. A further application was soon afterwards made to me on this subject through the secretary; and I was informed that I might expect a large reward, if I would consent to remain a year at Ioannina. A second time the Vizier himself spoke to me upon the matter, pressing my compliance in strong terms, and assuring me that every thing should be done during this period to render my residence agreeable. All this was expressed with a courteous and winning manner, which he has an eminent faculty in employing, whenever he thinks it needful for the attainment of his object. As I continued steady in declining his proposal, he expressed some surprize, and said he supposed I must have much money in England, that I cared so little about any offers he could make me. His manner giving me the idea that he was hurt by my refusal, I qualified it by promising that I would return to Ioannina, if he desired it, after I had visited Athens and certain other parts of Greece. He caught hold of this proposal at once; adding, that at present he was satisfied with obtaining this, and that he should depend upon my truth for the fulfilment of the promise.

It had been our design, after leaving Ioannina, to return to Santa-Maura, and thence to take the earliest conveyance to the Morea; and on this account we had left at Santa-Maura several packages, which might have encumbered our journey. This plan, however, was entirely changed, in consequence of a further request from the Vizier, that I would visit his son Veli Pasha, who then resided at Larissa in Thessaly, and was suffering under a complaint which had hitherto resisted, as he told me, all attempts at cure. He pressed this new plan with much earnestness, offering immediately to send a courier to Santa-Maura, for the things we had left there, and taking

upon himself to provide for our conveyance, not only to Larissa, but, by any route we might afterwards choose, to Athens. My friend having given his concurrence, and both being influenced by the desire of visiting Thessaly, I consented to the proposal of the Vizier, who appeared much satisfied, and desired particularly that I would draw up my opinion of Veli's case in writing, as I had done of his own. It was now fixed that we should leave Ioannina for Larissa, as soon as our luggage arrived.

I give these details regarding my medical connection with Ali Pasha, both to account for after-circumstances in my journey, and as illustrating in part the character and habits of the man. In those interviews, however, which were very frequent during the last week of our stay at Ioannina, the conversation was not confined to medical matters alone, but went into other topics of a more familiar kind. Situated as I now was with him, I could feel perfectly at ease in this intercourse, which every circumstance contributed to render highly interesting. He usually sent for me to the Seraglio in the afternoon or evening; sometimes alone, or occasionally with my friend, when he had nothing to say about his complaints. At whatever time it was, the approaches to the Seraglio were always crowded with the singular groupes already described. The Vizier was rarely to be found in the same room on two successive days; and during my present stay at Ioannina, I was with him in eight different apartments. His dress was not greatly varied; and only on one occasion I saw him with a turban instead of the blue cap, which he wore at the time of our first interview. His attitude also was very uniform, according to the Turkish habit. I seldom saw him rise from his couch, though once he did so, while explaining to me the decline of his bodily powers, striding firmly at the same time across the chamber, as if to show that still much of energy was left. His manner of reception was always polite and dignified. There was evidently more form intended, when many persons were present, and his manner became more easy and familiar, when we were alone. We always had seats on the divans near him; the privilege of sitting before

Turks of this rank being limited almost exclusively to strangers. Even Mouctar Pasha does not sit in his father's presence, unless directly desired to do so, and I have seen him stand a quarter of an hour among the officers of the Vizier, without venturing to take a place on the divan.

At one of my interviews with Ali Pasha, two of his grandsons were present for a short time; the eldest son of Mouctar Pasha, a youth of fifteen or sixteen; and the second son of Veli, apparently ten years of age. The Vizier caressed and spoke to them with much kindness as they stood before him. They were both richly dressed in the Albanian costume; and the son of Veli in particular shewed a fine and spirited countenance. I saw this boy approaching the Seraglio on horseback, his horse surrounded by Albanian soldiers on foot. He was lifted off by one of them; and made his way through the crowd of rugged soldiers with an air of loftiness on his little features, which shewed that, young as he was, he had not unavailingly studied in the school of despotic power. Unhappily for Turkey, this is the only school in which her rulers are instructed.

The most frequent topics introduced by the Vizier in conversation, were those relating to general politics; and in these it was evident that he was more interested than in any other. The conversation was usually carried on by question and reply; and his inquiries, though often shewing the characteristic ignorance of the Turks in matters of common knowledge, yet often also were pertinent and well conceived, and made up by acuteness what they wanted of instruction. Some of these questions, which I noted down, may serve as specimens of their usual style. We were talking about England. He inquired the population of the country; and whether I thought it as populous as those parts of Albania I had seen. The answer to this question led him to describe briefly the northern parts of Albania, as being much better inhabited than those to the south of Ioannina. He then pursued the former subject; asked what was the size and population of London; and expressed surprise when informed of its magnitude. He inquired the number of our ships of war; the comparison of their

size with the frigates he had seen on his coast; and where they were all employed. The latter question led me to mention the American war; and I stated to him the singular fact, that a people in America, speaking the French language, were fighting for England, against another people descended from the English, and speaking our own language. It was unfortunate that I put the matter in this paradoxical light: for as was natural, I had much difficulty in making him comprehend the matter.

The conversation, however, proceeded upon America; a subject on which he had before spoken to me, and seemed much interested. He now, as on several other occasions, expressed his regret that he had never had the opportunity of travelling; and his intention that this benefit, which had been wanting to him, should be given to Sali Bey, his youngest son. He inquired the distance of America from England and France; its extent; and to whom it belonged. He asked respecting its population and the longevity of its inhabitants, and dwelt especially on the latter point, to which I observed him always to attach a peculiar interest. He remarked that he had heard that the Indians and Chinese live to a great age, and asked whether I knew this to be the case, or was acquainted with any particular means they used for the purpose. Seeing him inclined to follow this topic, I stated the remarkable instances of longevity in our own countrymen, Parr and Jenkins; at which he expressed surprize, and much desire to know if there were any means in nature by which this end might be obtained. It was evident that in this question he had reference to himself; and I took the opportunity of enforcing upon him some of the medical advice I had before given. He gave assent to what I said; but at the same time pursued the question, whether there were not some more direct means of procuring long life. I mentioned to him generally the attempts that had been made some centuries ago, to discover the Elixir Vitæ; and stated that this was a project which had now been abandoned by all men of reflection. Alluding accidentally, at the same time, to the search after the philosopher's stone, he eagerly followed this subject, and wished to know

whether there were not some secret methods of discovering gold, which gave their possessor the power of procuring any amount of this metal. There was a strong and significant interest in his manner of asking this question, which greatly struck me; and it was accompanied by a look toward myself, seeming to search into the truth of my reply. I answered, of course, that there were no means of making gold and silver; that these metals were obtained only from the earth; and that the advantage of philosophy was in being able to employ the best means of raising them from mines, and purifying them for use. I doubt whether he was satisfied with this reply, or did not still believe in further mysteries of the alchemic art. The desire of gold and longevity are natural to a despot; and especially to one who, like Ali Pasha, has been ever pursuing a scheme of ambitious progress.

This was the usual style of conversation with the Vizier, and the common character of the questions he proposed. At an interview succeeding to that, of which I have given a sketch, he shewed me several mineral specimens, with a view to inquire what metals they contained. Some of these were merely iron-stones; one or two, which had the appearance of being from veins, contained crystals of copper pyrites; another those of galena. He seemed disappointed in being told that none of those were the ores of the precious metals; yet would not, or could not, give me the names of the places whence they came.

He possesses a small number of philosophical instruments, obtained from different parts of Europe; and shews an interest in their construction and uses. Some of the telescopes he has received from England are very good; and he has one of Dolland's microscopes, which however he had hitherto been unable to arrange for observation. This I did for him one morning when at the Seraglio, and shewed him its application in different instances. At another time he produced for my examination two air-guns of English manufacture; one of which had been rendered useless, as I found, by the valve being out of order. After I had charged the air-condenser of the other, he took it from

my hand, loaded it with bullets, and discharged it upwards, without any regard to the splendid decorations of the ceiling. As there were many persons present, I confess I thought it well that no other direction had been given. His fondness for arms of every kind, and especially if they be of curious structure, is very remarkable. Fusils, pistols, and sabres of singular and beautiful workmanship, are to be found in every part of the Seraglio; and frequently, when sitting with him, I have seen large collections of such arms brought for his inspection. A story has been told me of his sometimes trying a sabre by taking off himself the head of a person whom he had condemned to die; but I have no assurance that this statement is true. I described to him the new patent gun, which receives at once its priming for twenty or thirty discharges. He expressed much desire to obtain it, and his wish was gratified a few months afterwards by receiving one from General Airey, when that officer visited Ioannina. I found on inquiry, that he had seen some electrical experiments; Psalida having an electrical machine, which served for this exhibition. His interest in such subjects is of course of a transient nature, and obviously depending in part on the supposed connection they may have with the means of forwarding his power.

It has been said that Ali Pasha is unable either to read or write. I can testify from my own observation that he can read; and I believe both in the Romaic and Turkish languages. Though I do not recollect to have seen him write, yet I cannot doubt his ability in this also, from the information I have received.

A comparative freedom from Turkish prejudices was one of the most obvious and striking circumstances in the conversation of this man; an exemption doubtless owing to his birth and the circumstances of his early life, as well as to his sound understanding and judgment. I have seldom known a Turk allow superiority to Europeans, even in points where the national deficiency on his own side was most notorious. This temper I never observed in Ali Pasha; but, on the other hand, a sense and concession of inferiority, with a constant seeking after information, which might enable him to remedy

the deficiencies under which he laboured *. It must be owned that his inquiries had little reference to the principles of government, education, or other moral institutions; and were often directed to the mere outline of national power, or to the art and inventions of war. But there were many questions also which had relation to the internal improvement of his territory; to the construction of roads and bridges; the discovery of mines; the improvement of agriculture; and other points which, in a country like Albania, are of no mean importance to the future interests of the people.

Our conversation had often a reference to the politics of the day, on which I found him well and accurately informed. It was at this time that Bonaparte was pursuing his memorable campaign in Russia; in all the events of which Ali Pasha felt a lively interest, naturally arising out of his relation to the two great powers concerned. It was obviously for his advantage, that they should mutually wear out their strength, without either of them obtaining the preponderance. While at peace, they checked each other as to Turkey; when at war, if either were eminently successful, there was eventual danger to him. The vicinity of the French in the Illyrian provinces would speedily give effect to any designs they might adopt in that quarter, either from views of general ambition, or from motives of personal hostility to himself, which he might be well aware that he had created by his conduct at Prevesa, his recent connection with the English, and by other circumstances of less notoriety. Of the power of Russia, and the ultimate danger to the Turkish empire from this source, he was well informed; and he, as well as his sons, had felt and known the weight of the Russian armies pressing upon the Danube. He understood, too, that all foreign attempts at

* I have known him with great attention submit to receive advice about the improvement of the approaches to his Seraglio. On further consideration, I believe this advice was not judiciously given. These approaches might be greatly beautified; but at the expence of his character as an Albanian ruler. His true greatness, as well as safety, are in the rude magnificence of the Albanian soldiery which surrounds, or even fills, the outer part of his palace.

the restoration of Greece, whether with selfish or honourable motives, must of necessity imply a previous attack upon his power; and I believe he was fully sensible of his incapacity of resisting permanently the efforts of a regular European army. At various times I have heard him converse, more or less directly, on these topics; and in general there was an air of sound judgment in his remarks, which implied as well sagacity, as freedom from the prejudices of his nation.

I happened to be with him at the Seraglio on the evening of the day when he received information of the French having entered Moscow. He was evidently in low spirits, and discomposed by the intelligence. I spoke to him of the perseverance and resources of Russia, and of the evils that might arise to the French army from the burning of Moscow and the approach of winter. He was not satisfied by these arguments, but alluded in reply to the pacific temper of Alexander, to the mistakes which had been committed in the last Polish campaign, to the treaty of Tilsit, and above all to the character of Bonaparte, which he justly characterised as "as one that the world had never before seen." He spoke also of the errors the governments of Europe had committed in not uniting their strength, instead of coming singly to the contest; and in reference to this, told the story of the father who, on his death-bed, counselled his sons to union, by shewing them that their united strength could break a staff, which withstood the single strength of each. He was animated and impressive on this subject; and spoke with little disguise of the probable designs of Napoleon, alluding to Turkey as one of the first objects of his future career. A story has been told of Bonaparte having offered to make Ali Pasha king of Greece, if he would engage to second the designs of France in this quarter. I cannot say what truth there may be in this, but for various reasons I think it not impossible that some such offer may have been made. Considering the changes in the state of Europe, it is useless now to speculate upon the causes which led him to slight the French overtures, and to maintain his connection with England during the critical period of the last few years. The most obvious reasons were, his knowledge that we did not act

upon a principle of conquest; the security of his trade; and perhaps the eventual security of his person and treasures, should there be any successful invasion of the country. More than once he has aked me what would be his reception in England, if circumstances ever led him thither; and though this was said with a jocose air, yet it might have reference to the possible contingency of his being obliged to quit Albania. This passed, however, in a moment of some alarm; and the progress of events soon after turned the tide into a new channel.

Once or twice I happened to be present when Ali Pasha was listening to different petitioners, who successively came before him. This was an interesting spectacle; each petitioner, as he approached, knelt, kissed his garment, and then proffered the matter of his request or complaint. The manner of Ali Pasha on these occasions was rapid and decisive. It was evident that he speedily formed a judgment, and was not easily turned aside from it. He spoke frequently and rapidly himself, but obviously with a close attention to the subject, and a desire of obtaining truth. This promptitude is absolutely necessary, considering the multitude of affairs that come before him. He may be considered almost as the sole judge of his dominions; and though the absence of written law and precedent reduces all cases to the simple consideration of equity, yet it cannot be wondered that business should be retarded by its being committed so entirely to the labour and judgment of one man. It frequently happens that petitioners are detained several weeks in Ioannina, without being able to procure an audience, each day presenting themselves in the outer apartments of the Seraglio, and each day compelled to retire unsatisfied. I have several times been applied to, especially during my last residence at Ioannina, to interest the Vizier on behalf of different individuals; but my unwillingness to appear taking any part in such affairs, and the certainty that if I assisted one, it must be at the expence of another, obliged me to decline any interference in these cases.

This disposition to manage personally all his affairs, is a striking

feature in the character of Ali Pasha, and influences all the concerns of his government. From it is derived that unity of system which extends through his dominions, which renders him individually an object of almost mysterious dread to his subjects, and makes his power formidable to his neighbours, and to the integrity of the Turkish empire. His ministers are such in the humblest sense of the word. In his relation with the great powers of Europe, it does not appear that he depends on any counsel but his own; and in the internal concerns of the country, it seems as if there were no will, impulse, or action, but from him. The physician Metaxa well illustrated this by saying that there was a cord tied round every individual in his dominions, longer or shorter, more or less fine; but every one of which cords went to him, and were held in his hand. He added, what I knew from my own observation to be true, that the rudest peasant of Albania, or the meanest page in his Seraglio, would better obtain either favours or justice, by coming directly to Ali Pasha himself, than through any circuitous channel of ministers or favourites.

It may further be noticed, that not an individual about him knows equally well as Ali, all the localities of his dominions, the habits, or even persons of his subjects, and the other circumstances which are important to the execution of justice. Born in Albania, and having scarcely ever quitted this country, in which nevertheless he has been exercised by a thousand various fortunes, his knowledge on these subjects is minutely accurate. Almost every Albanian has been in his presence, either as a soldier, or in some other capacity; and there are few of mature age whose names or persons do not come within his recollection. I have had various opportunities of remarking this fact. One day I was present when he was giving a sort of open audience to all classes of petitioners. I noticed several cases in which his local knowledge evidently directed the decision, and probably was the means of arriving at the truth. Where his own interests or passions were unconcerned, it is probable that the judgments of Ali Pasha were generally impartial, and for the most part correct. It is doubtless an evil, that by undertaking every thing

himself many things are neglected or delayed; but it is likewise a good that he should thus extend his personal authority, since the subordinate ministers of a despotic system are generally tyrannical or corrupt.

The assiduity with which he applies himself to all this business is very great. He rises commonly before six, and his officers and secretaries are expected to be with him at this hour. There are no pauses in business during the day, except at 12 o'clock, when he takes his dinner, sleeping afterwards for an hour; and again at eight in the evening, which is his hour of supper. I have found him as late as nine o'clock, with three secretaries on the ground before him, listening to the most minute details of that branch of expenditure which relates to the post-houses; each article of which accounts he separately approved. His hours of pleasure are also in part subservient to the furtherance of business. I have seen him in the gardens of his pavilion surrounded by petitioners, and giving judgment on cases that were brought before him. Even when retiring to the Haram, he still preserves his public capacity; and in the petty discords of 300 women secluded from the world, it is not wonderful that his occupation and authority as a judge should still be required.

In his habits at table Ali Pasha is temperate, though by no means so strict a Mussulman as to refuse himself wine. He almost always eats alone, according to the custom of Turks of high rank, and at the hours already mentioned. His dinner usually consists of twelve or sixteen covers, which are separately placed on a tray before him. The dishes are chiefly those of Turkish cookery; in addition to which a whole lamb, provided by his shepherds, is served up at his table every day in the year. His appetite is not at all fastidious, and I have been told that his cooks, in providing for him, take liberties which, under a luxurious despot, would infallibly cost them their heads.

It is a singular circumstance in the habits of the man, that while exercising the most despotic tyranny, and exciting dread in all who surround him, he frequently descends to a sort of convivial intercourse with the Greeks as well as Turks of his capital, and accepts of

invitations to dinner, or evening entertainments, when these are proffered to him. Two or three such instances occurred during my latter stay at Ioannina, one of them at a Greek house, where I had the means of witnessing a part of the scene. It was an evening entertainment, at which seventy or eighty people were assembled; the Vizier bringing those of his ministers and attendants, whom he desired to be with him; and the master of the house inviting many of his own friends. The dinner or supper on these occasions is set out in the manner of the country; its merit being estimated in part by the number of dishes presented. The Vizier eats and sits alone, the rest of the company standing at a distance; but the master and mistress of the house are generally invited to take seats near him. Music and dancing are in most cases provided for his entertainment. The music is Turkish or Albanese, performed with tabors, guitars, and the tambourine, and often accompanied by the wild songs of the country: the dances also in general Albanese, and performed by youth of both sexes, dressed with all the richness that belongs to the national costume. When I last quitted Ioannina, my friend Mela was preparing to give such an entertainment to the Vizier, and had erected a new apartment in his gardens for this purpose.

The Haram of Ali Pasha forms a distinct and very extensive part of his Seraglio, closed in exteriorly by lofty stone-walls, so as to give the appearance of a fortress; but within, having terraces and other open places for the convenience of its numerous inhabitants. Though my medical situation with the Vizier, especially during my last residence at Ioannina, instructed me in many singular facts regarding the interior of the Haram, and though I had two female patients from within its walls, yet the rigid usage of Turkey prevented me from ever entering these *penetralia domus*, and I can speak of their appearance but from report*. The apartments are said to be fur-

* Lucas Bia is the only one of the physicians of the Vizier allowed to enter the Haram, a privilege he derives from his mother having suckled one of the sons of Ali Pasha, which, in the usage of this, and of many other countries, constitutes him in part one of the family.

nished in a style of gorgeous luxury; and having afterwards seen a vacant building with a similar destination, in the new Seraglio at Argyro Kastro, I can readily believe this statement. The number of females in the Haram is reported to exceed three hundred, but among these are included the various attendants, dancing girls, &c. who minister to the luxuries of the place. They are of various nations, Greeks, Turks, Albanians, Circassians, &c., and for the most part have been purchased according to the custom of the East. The occupations of a Turkish Haram have often been described, and need little repetition. The bath, music, dancing, tales, embroidery, and dress give the chief employment to time: the exhibition of idiotcy, or of the frantic acts of women drugged with opium or wine, and the talk of others who come to the Haram with philtres, charms, and the various arts addressed to credulity, these are among the occasional amusements of the place*. When the Vizier moves his residence for a time, the females taken with him are conveyed in close carriages, so as continue their confinement even during this interval. Habit and the want of education may somewhat alleviate this physical and moral captivity, but to vindicate it to general reason is impossible, though it has been attempted.

The first wife of Ali Pasha, the daughter of Coul Pasha, and mother of Mouctar and Veli, has long been dead. His only wife at present is the mother of Sali Bey, his third and youngest son, born after an interval of more than twenty years without children. This lady, who is said to have been originally a slave, resides at present with much state in the Seraglio at Tepeleni. Her son, Sali Bey, now about twelve years old, is separated from his mother, and has nominally the government of the large city of Argyro Kastro. The favourite of Ali Pasha at this time was an Albanian girl, young, and of great beauty. Her pre-eminence in the Haram was marked by a more sumptuous dress, but did not entitle her to refuse a profound obeisance to the wives of Mouctar or Veli Pasha, whenever these

* I derive these statements from a source of good authority.

ladies visited the Haram of their father-in-law. Such visits appear to have been frequently made, and as might be expected from the Turkish usage, without any sense of indecorum. It is a common thing for the Vizier to make a present to any favourite officer of a wife from his Haram, and it seems that in such cases the gift must of necessity be accepted. A friend of mine, the Divan Effendi, or Turkish secretary of the Vizier, received in this way a Circassian female while I was in Ioannina. I have heard him express himself in rapturous terms about his wife: but I have known one or two other instances of Albanians, who have hastened to betroth themselves elsewhere, lest such a gift should be forced upon their acceptance.

The adherence of Ali Pasha to the tenets of the Mahomedan religion is by no means rigid, and probably depending more on a sense of interest, that upon any zeal or affection for these tenets. He has few of the prejudices of a Mussulman; and in regarding those around him, his consideration obviously is, not the religion of the man, but whether he can be of service to any of his views. I have seen a Christian, a Turkish, and a Jewish secretary, sitting on the ground before him at the same moment,—an instance of the principle which is carried throughout every branch of his government. In Albania especially, the Christian and Mussulman population are virtually on the same footing as to political liberty; all indeed slaves, but the former not oppressed, as elsewhere in Turkey, by those subordinate agencies of tyranny, which render more grating the chain that binds them. It may fairly be said that under this government all religions find an ample toleration. I have even known instances where Ali Pasha has directed Greek churches to be built for the use of the peasants, as is the case in one or two of the villages on the plain of Arta.

Though without religious bigotry, however, (or perhaps religious feeling,) Ali Pasha exhibits certain superstitions, which possibly may have been engrafted on his early youth. He has his lucky and unlucky days, and is said to have shewn belief at times in the magic arts of charm and conjuration. Mixed with the good sense of his

conversation, I have now and then noticed a tone of credulity, which perhaps, however, could not be construed into more than a belief, that human art went further into the mysteries of nature than it really does, — a natural mistake in a man of talent, partially instructed. I have once or twice seen a Derveish with him, one of those strange appendages of eastern state which combine the repute of sanctity with buffoonery, or even idiotcy of manner. It did not appear, however, that he paid any attention to the gesticulations of this man, or thought of him otherwise than merely as an adjunct to his court.

I have hitherto spoken chiefly of the better parts of Ali Pasha's character. Truth compels the addition of other features of less pleasing kind; and to the general picture of eastern despotism must be annexed some traits peculiar to the man. The most striking of these are, a habit of perpetual artifice, shewn in every circumstance of his life; and a degree of vindictive feeling, producing acts of the most unqualified ferocity. The most legitimate form his cunning assumes, is in political matters, where, according to frequent usage, it might perhaps have the name of sagacity and adroitness. He is eminently skilled in all the arts of intrigue, and his agents or spies are to be found every-where in the Turkish empire, doing the work of their master with a degree of zeal which testifies at once his own talent in their selection, and the commanding influence of his powers over the minds of all that surround him. His political information, derived from these sources, and from the ample use of bribery, is of the best kind; and it may, I believe, be affirmed as a fact, that not a single event of importance can occur at Constantinople, even in the most secret recesses of the Divan, which is not known within eight days at the Seraglio of Ioannina.

The personal artifice of Ali's character, however, is the trait which most impresses those around him with alarm. Whatever be the external testimony of the moment, no man feels secure beneath his power; or even it may be said, what I know from my own observation, that an unusual fairness of aspect is often the source of greatest terror to those concerned. To cozen with a form of fair words seems

at once the habit and delight of the man. It is said to be a principle with him never to allow any one to go discontented from his presence, and I have heard in illustration of this, that it is not uncommon for him to adopt a peculiar kindness of manner to those whom he has determined to sacrifice; the unhappy victim quits him, satisfied and secure, and a few minutes after his head is severed from his body. With the same temper of mind, and with the same artifice of manner, he is enabled often to allure into his power, those of his enemies, who, for the moment, have escaped his vengeance. In such cases, no pledge arrests his hand, or can save the offender from destruction. I have known many striking instances of the effect of this character, especially among the Greek families of Ioannina; a sort of undefined terror ever hanging over them; a perpetual sense of insecurity, and a fearfulness of committing even to the walls the sound of the voice, on any subject connected with their despotic master. To one who has lived but under the shield of a free government, the picture of the moral influence of tyranny cannot fail to be impressive, and ought to be instructive also.

The positive cruelty of Ali Pasha's temper admits of little palliation; connected as it seems to be, not solely with ambitious views, but often also with feelings of a more personal kind. Something may be allowed for national habit; and it must be recollected further, that many of the spectacles, which appear to the stranger as the effects of cruelty, are in reality the acts of executive justice; depending, it is true, upon the discretion of one arbitrary judge, but many of them licensed by the usage of civilized nations. Still there remains a heavy account in the life of this man; and the proofs of a ferocious and vindictive temper are spread over every page of his history. His vengeance is not a momentary feeling, satiated with the destruction of the object; but continues after the lapse of years, and seeks for its satisfaction even the children and all the race of the offender. I shall hereafter have occasion to mention the dreadful spectacle I saw near Argyro Kastro; the bodies or bones of more than 600 people, who had been massacred before his eyes, for an

offence committed against his family 40 years before. During my first visit to Ioannina, a circumstance occurred of the same general stamp. A certain Albanian, many years before, had slain a cousin of the Vizier's, and committed other offences against him; he was taken soon afterwards, actually roasted alive, and his children put to death*. A brother of this man, who had escaped at the moment, fell into his power at the time we were at Ioannina; allured, it was said, by promises of oblivion of the family offence. He was cut into pieces, and his limbs thrown into the public street before the area of the Seraglio. At the time I did not learn the story of this dreadful execution; but afterwards heard the cause from one of my Albanian guards, who happened to have been present at the death of the other brother and his children.

The anecdote of sixteen females, of Mouctar Pasha's Haram, who were drowned at the same time in the lake of Ioannina, may already be known to some of my readers; though with some variety perhaps in the narrative of the event. The relation which I heard, was, that the jealousy of Mouctar's wife, exerting her influence upon the mind of the Vizier, had led to this catastrophe; but I cannot answer for the accuracy of the story. It may be observed, that the common mode of capital punishment for females in Turkey, is that of drowning; and if the punishment be decreed for a crime, the act does not excite more astonishment there, than death upon the scaffold does with us. A woman was punished in this way the last time I was in Ioannina, for what crime I am ignorant.

The influence of Ali Pasha's government upon the country of which he is master, has already been noticed in the preceding chapters, and will be further illustrated in other parts of my narrative. If I were asked a general opinion, I should say that, notwithstanding all the faults and evils of despotism, it is beneficial

* The management of the execution was committed to Yusuf Aga, an old Moor, of whom I shall hereafter speak; and it is possible that he and his master may have devised this horrible mode of death.

rather than otherwise; chiefly in having abolished the petty tyrannies which before afflicted this part of Turkey, and in depressing his Turkish subjects nearly to the same level as the Greeks; an advantage which the active talent of the latter people will not forego, when the iron hand is removed which now presses alike on all. It must be confessed, that the surmise is problematical, but it is not impossible, that this single mastery may better pave the way to future liberty, than the fluctuating and divided slavery in which the Greeks of this country were before held. The power of Ali Pasha has united the greater part of Albania and Thessaly into one state; and has annihilated the brigands which formerly infested these fine provinces. He has rendered internal communication every-where secure, and shewn much attention to the construction of roads, the building of bridges, and other points of internal improvement. These works will survive him, and may possibly give facility to future efforts for the freedom of the country. It must be acknowledged, however, that no prospective views of this kind reconcile the Greeks to his government, or render him popular among this people. The actual evil of slavery will always out-weigh, with the existing generation, any views of future contingent benefit. Those Greeks who serve him, do it from fear, habit, or interest; and while the phrases of *ypselotatos Vizyres* and *il nostro Principe* come in frequent repetition from their mouths, it is evident that they feel his rule to be at once their misfortune and their disgrace.

Nor is the government of Ali Pasha a popular one with the Turks who live under it. Little distinction is shewn either to their religion or race; and under a system in which men are valued chiefly according to their active services, the general indolence of the Turk finds its true level, and sinks into comparative insignificance. The military power of Ali does not depend upon this portion of his subjects, and they are the least profitable to his revenues. The character of a Mussulman gives no exemption in Albania from the tyranny of his rule. The victims who perished in the massacre at

Gardiki were all Mahomedans, and the Porte made strenuous efforts to save them, but without avail.

The real source of Ali Pasha's strength is the Albanian population of his dominions. Here he has not only military force, of the kind most efficacious in Turkish warfare, but can rely also on the attachment and fidelity of the people. Born in the midst of them, educated in their customs and language, and raised into greatness by their bravery; the Albanians are proud of their countryman, and glory in his elevation. Their military service is less one of compulsion, than the national habit of the people, exercised under a chieftain whom they respect and admire. Ali Pasha is well aware of the value of these dispositions, and diligently fosters them; as much perhaps from inclination as policy. I have had frequent opportunities of noticing this fact. He accosts the Albanian soldier rather as a comrade than a slave, talks with him in a gay familiar manner, and makes himself acquainted with his family and personal merits, and rewards a course of long service with the most liberal donations. To an old soldier who travelled with me as a guard through the northern parts of Albania, he had recently given 5000 piastres; and instances of this kind are continually occurring. All the military offices in his dominions are confided to Albanians; many of them grown old, or wounded in his service. Among these men, I have generally found a warm devotion to the interests, and a feeling of pride in the greatness, of their master.

Some of the ministers about the court of Ali are Turks; and Greeks occupy other offices of his Seraglio; but those who most confidentially surround his person are Albanians, and many of them the old adherents of the family at Tepeleni. The individual whose influence with the Vizier is most powerful and decided, is Athanasius Bia, elder brother of one of his physicians. This man is a native of Lekli, a village in the mountain-defiles near Tepeleni: his father was killed, and he himself has been wounded, in the service of Ali Pasha, whose fortunes he has followed from his earliest youth. A

man of undaunted intrepidity, Athanasius has signalized himself by various military actions, and has never shewn scruple or fear in executing the orders of his master. He is reputed to have been the agent in some of the most desperate acts which have marked the late history of Ali's government; and it is certain, that he possesses more of the Vizier's confidence than any other of those who surround him. The greater part of the day he passes in his apartments; and at night, if I am rightly informed, sleeps on the floor at the entrance of his master's chamber; his arms always loaded and beside him. In his manner towards the Vizier, I have often observed a freedom, or even abrupt familiarity, which no one beside dared to assume. One day, when Ali was speaking to me on a particular subject, he ordered all his attendants to quit the room, excepting Athanasius, of whom he spoke to me at the time, as a man that might be trusted with the concerns most important to his interests. How all this influence has been obtained, many a secret history must probably be opened to tell. Athanasius is scarcely yet forty, with manly and not unpleasing features. He has acquired much wealth, and is a large possessor of houses and lands in the vicinity of his native place.

It may perhaps be thought that I have dwelt upon the character and habits of Ali Pasha, more minutely than was needful. I can only excuse myself for this, in the singular traits which belong to the man, and to his government, and in the actual extent of his power, and the territory he commands. My medical connection with him gave me peculiar means of observing these more personal features; and the reader, who may be interested in the subject, will find in a future part of this volume, some anecdotes of my further intercourse with him, in the second journey I made through his Albanian dominions.

The knowledge that I had been consulted by the Vizier, gained me numerous other patients in Ioannina, not only among the Greeks, but also with many of the principal Turks of the city. One of the first of the latter class, was Omar Bey, a man of much influence in the northern parts of Albania. He commanded the Turkish cavalry

at Alexandria, when we made our last unfortunate expedition to Egypt, and is reputed to have amassed great wealth in that country. His former residence, when in Albania, was at Berat; but either from a dread of Ibrahim Pasha, or perceiving that Ali Pasha would ultimately succeed in the contest between these two powers, he came over to the Vizier, and was afterwards employed as one of his generals in the war against Ibrahim. His influence at Berat, which contributed to the event of the contest, still continues very great; and it has been surmised, that if a dismemberment of territory takes place on the death of Ali, he is likely to become the Pasha of this place. I have heard it rumoured also, that his life would be a *precarious one*, but for the attachment of the Albanians of this part of the country to his person. He was now living at Ioannina, in apartments within the area of the Seraglio. He retains a large and splendid retinue; and I have seen him go out to take the exercise of the *djerid*, on the plains to the west of the city, attended by 15 or 16 followers, all richly dressed, and mounted on beautiful Arabian horses, which they managed with singular boldness and address.

Another of my Turkish patients, was Hadje Sheikri, a man much in the confidence of the Vizier, and often employed in secret missions to Constantinople. I visited this Turk two or three times in his own house, and found him courteous, with some humbur, and a good deal of knowledge derived from frequent intercourse with Europeans in the capital. A third patient was Mahomet Effendi, an elderly man of much consequence at Ioannina, and who generally holds the government of the city during the absence of the Vizier. I visited him in an apartment of the Seraglio, where he was surrounded by eight or ten other Turks, all smoking on their couches. It appeared that he had desired to consult me, chiefly as an opportunity of displaying his own knowledge. I found him much more loquacious than is the habit of Turks, and extremely vain of the supposed or superficial knowedge he had acquired. He spoke of Alexander the Great, of India, of the sun and planets, and of the truth of astrology, and told me a long story of an Arabian, who had

given him on his death-bed, a secret for calculating the fate and fortunes of men. A much more reasonable patient of the same nation, was Ishmael Bey, another of the ministers of the Vizier, who resides with a good deal of state in the old Seraglio of the fortress. His horses were sent to carry me thither from my lodging, and he received me with some ceremony; an interpreter and several attendants being in waiting. To say the best of it, however, I found my medical practice with those, and other Turks who consulted me, both laborious and unpleasant, not so much from the prejudices or habits of this people, as from the difficulty of arriving at the nature of their complaints. Some of them could not speak the Romaic; an interpreter then was necessary who understood the Turkish; and as it sometimes happened that he spoke neither Italian nor French, a second was required who could explain to me, in one of these languages, the symptoms described. Every question I wished to ask, was of course obliged to re-ascend all the stages of this tower of Babel, before an answer could be obtained. The time spent in such consultations may easily be conceived, and a medical man will at once apprehend the disagreeable uncertainty of any practice, founded on such clumsy and circuitous intercourse with the patient.

CHAP. X.

PREPARATIONS FOR A JOURNEY INTO THESSALY. — BUYROULDI. — TARTARS. — TRAVELLING IN TURKEY. — DEPARTURE FROM IOANNINA. — KHAN OF KYRA. — VALLEY OF THE RIVER OF ARTA. — DISTRICT OF ZAGORI. — METZOVO. — MINERALOGICAL REMARKS. — ASCENT OF THE RIDGE OF PINDUS. — VIEW FROM THE SUMMIT. — GEOGRAPHY OF THE PINDUS CHAIN.

THE messenger whom the Vizier had dispatched to Santa-Maura to fetch our luggage, was detained two or three days in that island by contrary winds, and did not reach Ioannina until the evening of the 4th of November. He brought us every thing in safety; and we immediately began the preparations for our journey into Thessaly; apprehensive lest the rapid approach of winter might impede our passage over the chain of Pindus, which is often impracticable to the traveller during this season. The winter snows had already accumulated on all the higher mountains, and we derived a somewhat dismal augury to our journey, from the forebodings of our friends at Ioannina. Nevertheless, those who best knew the country, assured us that the road was still perfectly practicable; and, with the permission of the Vizier, we decided upon setting out in the course of the following day.

We were at the Seraglio for half an hour on the evening preceding our departure, and had an interview with the Vizier in an apartment that was new to me, and even more splendid in its decorations than those I had before seen. He continued all the appearances of friendship in his speeches and professions, again expressed his satisfaction that I had consented to visit Veli Pasha at Larissa, and his request that I would give his son my opinion upon his complaints, in writing. We had a final interview with him the following morning, when he stated to us the arrangements he had made for our mode of travelling,

said that he had directed post-horses to be furnished for our journey, and that he had appointed a Tartar to attend us, in whom we might place confidence; adding, that we might take him with us to Athens, if satisfied with his conduct; or, if dissatisfied, discharge him at Larissa, and obtain another from Veli Pasha. To this Tartar he told us he should commit the *Buyrouldi*, or official mandate, which was to serve as a passport to our journey, ordering at the same time one of his secretaries to prepare the paper for his signature. I have given below a translation * of this curious mandate, the original of which is in the Romaic language. It may be worthy of notice that the word translated *gentlemen* is in the original Μιλορδοι; the term *Milordos*, by a singular process of inference, having become the almost uniform appellation of every English traveller in Greece, as well as in the other parts of the European continent.

In passing through the area of the Seraglio this morning, we saw the head of a man suspended upon a pole, three or four feet above the ground, the blood even yet dropping from the divided neck. This execution must have taken place but a few minutes before, as

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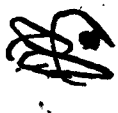
* "From his Royal Highness the Vizier Ali Pasha.

"Orders to the Waiwodes, Agas, Bulu-bashees, Derveni-ethes, Proestotes, of all the the cities and districts where these two English gentlemen, friends of mine, may present themselves, to be careful that they are not molested by any one, even in the slightest circumstance. Also to treat them with every kind of hospitality, in all things of which they may have need, without allowing them to suffer the least inconvenience; and if they should have need of men for their secure passage through the country, to give them such immediately. Finally, to order things, so that they may be satisfied with all of you: otherwise, if they complain to me of your not having treated them with the proper hospitality, or of your not having given them men for their secure passage, you well know that to me no excuses can be given.

"*Ioannina.* 

"Wheresoever they may remain, it is your duty to receive them, to give them lodging, and to render them whatsoever service they may desire, without their suffering the least inconvenience, otherwise they will not be content with you."

we had previously crossed the area, and could not have failed to observe the spectacle, had it then been presented. We did not think it prudent to inquire into the circumstances, and probably no one could have given us information. It seemed evident that the sight was wholly indifferent to the rude assemblage of soldiers in the area, accustomed doubtless to these exhibitions of despotic terror.

When quitting the Vizier, he renewed his expressions of friendship; desired me to write to him from Larissa; and urged me strongly to perform my promise of returning to Ioannina, after I had visited Athens and the Morea. A short time after this last interview, the Secretary Colovo came to the house of Metzou, bringing with him a Turkish sabre, which the Vizier had ordered him to present to me, as a testimony of his gratitude for my medical services. It was a Damascus blade, remakably curved in form, and of very fine workmanship, the value of which I was led to believe considerable, from the offers afterwards made me for it.

Owing to some delay in procuring post-horses, we did not quit Ioannina before two o'clock. It was with regret that we bade adieu to the family of our kind host, who had been unremitting in their attentions, and who now expressed their sorrow at our departure, with an openness of manner which attested its sincerity. Psalida, Metaxà, Ioannes Mela, and several other of our friends, came in to visit us, and to afford either counsel or good wishes to our journey. At length we were summoned to depart by the appearance of our Tartar, Osmyn, a man apparently between forty and fifty, of tall and stately figure, and habited in the costume, which is perhaps derived in part from the ancient Tartar dress, but is now appropriated in Turkey by all who exercise the profession of public couriers. A high cap covers the head, nearly resembling in form that worn by the Greeks, but taller, and of a yellow colour, with the exception of the rounded summit, the colour of which seems to depend upon individual taste. The neck is open, according to the uniform custom of the East. The exterior garment is of brown cloth, extremely loose about the sleeves, with red trimmings, and various fancy figures upon it, worked in

threads of the same colour. The inner vests are two or three in number, frequently made of velvet, with a line of rich lacing in front, and various other trimmings and ornaments of silver. The belt, which is very broad, is formed of long shawls, drawn tightly round the body, and in this are fixed the arms of the Tartar, generally consisting of a dagger or straight sword, and one or two large pistols, the handles of very rich workmanship. The loose cloth trowser, or petticoat, which they wear below, is usually of a leaden colour, with wide yellow leather boots coming up underneath it. A Tartar, thus equipped, is an imposing figure, though apparently too bulky for the office of a courier, and not well adapted to the smallness of the horses of the country. Nevertheless these men make journies of great length with almost incredible speed, and sustain fatigues of the most arduous and extraordinary kind. I have heard, but will not vouch for the truth of the story, that a Tartar rode from Tripolitza, in the Morea, to Constantinople, and back again, in little more than twelve days, a distance of at least 1200 miles*. I know it to be the fact that the Tartars of Ali Pasha frequently ride from Ioannina to Constantinople in six days, and some of them are said to have performed it occasionally in five. Their usual pace, when travelling post, is a canter or hard gallop; they are attended in each stage by a *sourudze* or postillion, who sometimes, as I have heard, leads the horse of the Tartar, while the latter is sleeping on his back.†

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* As a matter of comparison, it may be worth noticing here, that Sempronius Gracchus rode from Amphissa, near Delphi, to Pella in Macedonia, in between two and three days, a distance of about 200 miles. Livy calls this *incredibilis celeritas*. Liv. lib. xxxvii. c. 7.

† It will be well here to subjoin a few remarks respecting the mode of travelling in Turkey, as these may be useful to the future traveller in this country. It is always desirable, when entering upon a journey, to be provided, if possible, either with a general *firman* from Constantinople, or passports from the local governments through which you may be travelling; without which, even should there be no personal risk, there is always difficulty in obtaining horses, and a liability to be constantly imposed upon. In the dominions of Ali Pasha, no firman is equal to a few words with his signature annexed to them; or rather it may be said, that here no mandate has effectual power but his own. It is always

These Tartars perform all the offices of public couriers in Turkey, and are attached in this capacity to the different governments of the

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desirable to be attended by a Tartar or Janissary, as well for security as to facilitate the progress of the journey. The payment of these men is determined in some degree by the length of time they travel with you: if for one or two months, a dollar or a dollar and a half per day will be sufficient: if the journey is only of a few days, the proportionate compensation must be greater. It is important to procure an order from the local government where you are travelling, for the use of post-horses, of which there are establishments at all the principal towns in Turkey. This saves both time and difficulty in a point which more than any other embarasses the traveller. In all the detail of arrangements respecting horses, as well as in procuring lodging for the night, he is obliged to rely chiefly upon the activity of his Tartar or Janissary; if left to himself, and especially if unaccustomed to the habits of the country, he is harassed by unceasing perplexities as to these matters. A Pasha occasionally gives a passport, which entitles the traveller to the use of post-horses without any other expence than a small sum to the master of each post house, and to the *soürudzes* who travel with you from post to post. By the favour of Ali Pasha we travelled on this footing throughout every part of his territory, after leaving Ioannina on our way into Thessaly. Where this advantage is not obtained, some variation will be found in the expence of horses in different districts; but the average price may perhaps be rated at six piastres, or about six shillings a-day for each horse.

The smaller the compass in which the traveller comprizes his luggage, the greater facility of course does it give to his journey. As every thing is carried on horseback, it is well to have some oil-case covering, or large leathern bags, both to save trouble in arranging the articles of luggage, and to protect them against rain or dust. The advantage of carrying European saddles into Turkey was formerly mentioned. Portable beds are indispensable to the traveller, as he will never meet with bedding of any description, except in the houses of Greeks of the higher class. The contrivance of these may be determined by individual taste; but I should recommend some description of bed-stead, as a protection against the naked earth, which often forms the only flooring of the nightly habitation. A small canteen, in a country where even knives and forks are seldom found, and where the cooking of provisions must in general be trusted to the servant of the traveller, is also necessary.

The coins most commonly used in Turkey are the gold Venetian zequins, dollars, piastres, and paras. The zequin has generally a value of about eleven piastres; the dollar on the coast, and in the Ionian Isles, is equal to five and a half piastres, but in many parts of the interior is valued at six. There are other gold coins in circulation of smaller value than the zequins, and silver pieces of two and two and a half piastres. In projecting a journey through Turkey, it is desirable to provide yourself with a certain amount of

empire. Those in the employ of Ali Pasha are very numerous, and are held in the highest repute throughout all Turkey for their superior activity and speed. They receive a small regular payment; but their principal profit is derived from the remuneration of their active services, which reward is occasionally of the most liberal kind. Those who now fulfil the office of Tartars are chiefly native Turks of the country, and the occupation is considered by no means of a discreditable nature.

In consequence of the lateness of the hour when we quitted Ioannina, we did not proceed farther that evening than the Khan of Kyra, ten or twelve miles from the city. Skirting the lake to its southern extremity, we wound round the insulated hill formerly described, by a terraced road, which in some places forms the only interval between the water and the face of the rock. This hill is entirely of lime-stone, but singularly tinged with iron; and the rock, probably in consequence of this quantity of iron, fractured in a very extraordinary degree, particularly at the place where it is said that a portion of water from the lake finds a subterraneous exit. I did not observe any strong current in the narrow channel which comes up to the base of the rock, and the quantity of water escaping in this way must undoubtedly be small. From various points in the road may be seen the massive remains of the ancient fortress or city, which once stood upon this eminence.

Beyond this pass, we entered a broad valley, which forms a part of the plains of Ioannina, separated only by the prolongation of the hill

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money in dollars and zequins, and with letters of credit to the Greek merchants in the principal cities, which may easily be obtained at Malta.* I should further recommend the traveller to furnish himself with some little articles, of which to make presents in passing through the country. He is often entertained in Greek houses, without the possibility of making a direct compensation, except to the domestics, and in such cases, some trifle of English manufacture, left with the females of the family, or a book put into the hands of the master of the house, will be felt as a proper method of relieving this embarrassment.

just mentioned, and by the expansion of the lake to the north. The great ridge of Metzoukel, extending in a southerly direction, but declining rapidly in height, forms the eastern boundary of this valley, which is picturesque in its features and productive in its soil. The cultivation, as in other parts of the plain of Ioannina, is chiefly of maize and wheat. The village of Barkamouthi on one side the valley, and the Greek monastery of Santa-Veneranda, surrounded by woods, on the other, add much to the character of the landscape. Pursuing an easterly direction across this stripe of level country, we began the ascent of the ridge of hill, which forms the continuation of Metzoukel, intervening between the plains of Ioannina and the valley of the Aracthus, or river of Arta. The ascent is steep and laborious, though the road has been well constructed with a view to lessen these difficulties. The summit of the ridge, as well in this place as where it rises into the lofty heights of Metzoukel, is so narrow, that the descent commences at the very moment you have attained the highest level; yet is the traveller of necessity arrested on this summit by the extraordinary magnificence of the view that surrounds and lies beneath him. On the one side are the deep bason and lake of Ioannina, with their surrounding plain and mountains; the palaces and minarets of the city still distinctly seen overhanging the waters of the lake: on the other side, the profound valley of the Aracthus, which may be traced far into the distance between the great eastern front of Metzoukel, and the towering central heights of the Pindus chain. Both as respects singularity and grandeur, I know scarcely any view which is comparable to the one from this spot. Its peculiarity arises from the perfect separation and contrast of two great landscapes, present to the eye almost at the same moment of time; the grandeur of each landscape is that derived from extent, and from the magnitude of all the objects composing their outlines. To the traveller coming from Thessaly, whose journey for nearly two days has been through a mountainous region, I conceive that the view on the side of Ioannina must be the most imposing; but abstracting this circumstance, I should consider the opposite landscape as altogether more

surprising and magnificent in its features. From the point where the road crosses the ridge, to the channel of the river, is a steep declivity of at least a thousand feet in height. Immediately beyond the river commences the ascent of Pindus, the successive ridges and elevation of which conduct the eye to summits, which I presume from various circumstances, (though without any certain method of estimate,) to be little less than seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Looking northwards, other parts of the great Pindus chain come into view, particularly the mountains of Zagora, the vast precipices of which are covered with forests of pines. From this lofty region descends one branch of the river of Arta, forming its junction with the other, or Metzovo branch, in the deep hollow intervening between Metzoukel and Pindus. The course of the river cannot be traced downwards far beyond this junction; it is lost to the sight amidst the vast mountain-defiles which form its only passage to the plains and gulph of Arta.

The Khan of Kyra, or the Lady's Khan, where we stopped for the night, is a solitary building, situated a little below the summit of the ridge we had just traversed; and having before and beneath it the landscape I have been describing. The evening was cold and stormy, and the place, as we approached it, bore an aspect of wildness and desolation. The Khan, which is the property of Mouctar Pasha, resembled those we had before seen; a square of low buildings, rudely constructed, with a gateway in front, surmounted by a sort of open turret. The greater part of these buildings is occupied as stabling: the apartments for the accommodation of travellers are wretched places, with naked walls, no windows, and not a single article of furniture, except straw mattresses. Bread, goat's-milk, cheese, and wine, were the only provisions we could obtain here; and we found that our Ioannina friends had judged kindly in furnishing us with a small store for our journey. The water at this place, however, is reputed of very excellent quality; and it is said that the Vizier is frequently supplied with it from a fountain which has been erected in a hollow of the mountain, near to the Khan. The Tartar, Osmyn, and another Turk who had joined our party, slept in a room

adjoining to us. Several other cavalcades of men and horses came to the Khan in the course of the evening, and the noise of rude song and boisterous merriment went through evey part of the building.

We resumed our journey at an early hour the following morning, but under the inauspicious circumstance of thick hazy weather, which continued during the greater part of the day, and afforded us only very partial views of the surrounding scenery. This is a misfortune to the traveller in any situation; but he particularly feels it as an evil, when traversing a country little known, and abounding in natural beauties. Our cavalcade was increased this morning by the addition of several Albanian peasants, who probably desired to avail themselves of the protection of our Tartar in their journey. Besides Osmyn and the other Turk who travelled with us, we had a further guard in our servant Demetrius, who was armed with pistols, a dagger, and the Turkish sabre I had received from the Vizier. There is in reality, however, but little danger in travelling through this part of Albania. The power of the Vizier is so rigidly exercised, and the terror of his name such, that few banditti venture thus near to his capital, and the traveller who sets forth with his written passport, is doubly and trebly armed in this alone.

Our journey to-day was to Metzovo, a town situated among the heights of Pindus, near one of the sources of the river of Arta, and about twenty-four miles distant from the Khan of Kyra. The relative bearing of Metzovo from Ioannina is about east-north-east, but the route between the two places is rendered circuitous, by crossing the ridge of Metzoukel at the southern extremity of the lake, and by following upwards the valley of the river. The broad paved road, which brought us from Ioannina to the Khan, is continued towards Metzovo; and being carried in a winding line along the sides of the mountains is rendered passable even for the carriages of the Vizier. Our Tartar, however, proposed to conduct us by a shorter route along the channel of the river, and we complied with his advice. The descent into the valley was by a path extremely steep and dangerous, and occupied us more than an hour. We reached the banks of the

river near the small Khan of Balduni; a picturesque and beautiful spot, shaded by the foliage of large plane trees, and appearing as if secluded from the world by the amphitheatre of mountains which surround it. The junction of the two branches of the river, from Zagora and Metzovo, takes place a short way above the Khan; and the united streams flow through a rocky channel, about fifty yards in width. The course of the river may from this point be traced a considerable way through the mountains in a southerly direction. Near its eastern bank, and about eight hours' journey from Ioannina, is the florishing town of Kalarites, built, as I am informed, with much more regularity than is usual in the towns of Turkey. The population, which I believe to be chiefly Wallachian, is respectable, cultivated, and extensively engaged in commercial pursuits, of the same nature as those carried on by the merchants of Ioannina.

From this Khan we ascended the river to the junction of the Zagora and Metzovo branches, which unite at a very acute angle; the lofty intervening ridge terminating in a promontory, finely clothed with wood. The appearance of wood was in some degree a new feature to us in the scenery of Albania, as we had hitherto seen little of it, except in the immediate environs of Arta. The vallies, however, which we were now entering, and the precipitous hills forming their boundary, derive much beauty from the foliage which covers them, and which at this time was coloured with the richest tints of autumn. We crossed, by a well-built bridge, the river of Zagora, which is itself formed by two principal branches, one of them called the Warda, descending in a south-west direction from a mountain called Tchoukarouka, the other from a part of the Zagora mountains, somewhat further to the west.

The canton of Zagora, though every-where extremely mountainous, yet contains a large population, occupied partly as shepherds, partly in the cultivation of their vallies and the acclivity of their mountains. I have heard the number of villages in the district estimated at upwards of forty; the principal of which is distant from Ioannina a journey of about ten hours in a north-east direction. Among the

inhabitants are many respectable Greek families; but the greater part of the population is of Wallachian descent, a remnant of those tribes which have long been settled and sheltered in different situations of this mountain chain, and are distinguished by their hardy and independent habits of life, as the shepherds of the country. The flocks are very numerous and valuable in these elevated districts; and the Wallachians, or *Vlaki*, as they are called in Greece, are here generally employed in tending them; passing the summer among the mountains, and descending to the plains in the winter, in those large migrating bodies, one of which we had accidentally met on the road between Cinque Pozzi and Ioannina.

One of the principal routes over Pindus is through the canton of Zagora, and it is that generally followed by Tartars and other travellers in riding post from Ioannina towards Constantinople. The mountains of Zagora are distinguished from most other parts of the Pindus chain, by their summits spreading out into wide and open plains, instead of forming narrow ridges of hill. I shall hereafter mention their ancient name, when speaking of the geography of Pindus.

From the junction of the rivers, we followed upwards the channel of the Metzovo stream, which appears to be larger than the Zagora branch. Our course was chiefly along the bed of the river, which, in a distance of little more than twelve miles, we crossed and recrossed nearly thirty times; occasionally with difficulty, owing to the ruggedness of the channel, and the strength of the current. When the stream is at all swelled by floods, this route is impracticable; but at other times it is preferable, both as being shorter and more picturesque than the paved road. Occasionally our path diverged from the bed of the river into the woods which line its banks, and climb the adjacent hills. The oak, the plane, and the chesnut, are the trees which chiefly grow in this valley; and in some instances they attain a very large size. The oak appears to be generally of that kind, which is called in England the Turkey or iron oak, with leaves much serrated, and a rough calyx to the acorn. The comparative

experiments made upon this tree, indicate a remarkably quick growth, without, it is said, any inferiority in the quality of the timber to that of our common English oak, either for ship-building or other purposes*. It must be very practicable, during the winter floods, to float timber down this river to the gulph of Arta, and probably this may already be done to a certain extent. The small Valonia oak is also abundant in the valley of the river of Metzovo, the foliage of which every-where gives much richness to the landscape.

At Pornari, about three hours journey from the Khan of Balduni, there is a small house belonging to the Vizier, where he occasionally stops when travelling on this road. Three miles further is Tri-khani, so named from three Khans which stand near each other, on a woody eminence above the river; the buildings miserable in themselves, but extremely picturesque in their situation. Krisovitza, and other small villages, appeared in the recesses of the hills; but the atmosphere was so thick, that we could see but little of the distant view; and only once or twice during the day obtained a sight of the heights of Pindus, below, and among which we were travelling.

From Tri-khani to Metzovo is three hours journey. We had ascended rapidly all the way from Balduni; but in this latter part of the road, the river has all the characters of a mountain-torrent, and to Metzovo the ascent is extremely difficult and laborious. We met here two large cavalcades of Turks, richly habited, mounted on fine horses, and attended by several Albanese soldiers; but the rank and destination of these people we could not learn. The town of Metzovo has a most extraordinary situation near one of the sources of the river of Arta. Surrounded on every side by high mountain-ridges, it is itself placed on a level, which I believe I should not greatly err in estimating at nearly 3000 feet above the sea†. It

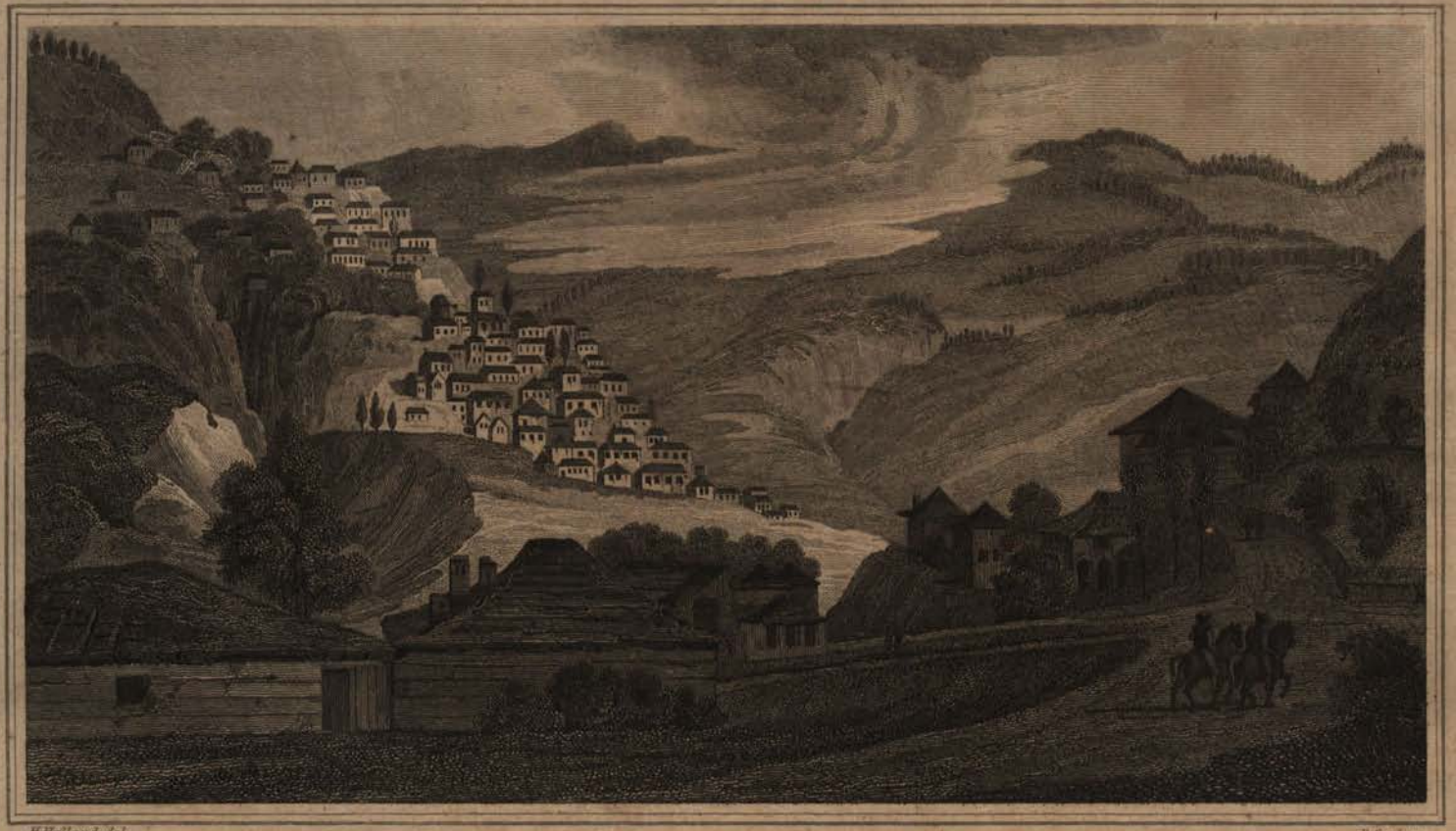
* See a paper on this subject by Mr. White, in the Manchester Memoirs. Vol. v. part i. p. 167.

† The word *Mezov*, in the Albanese language, is said to signify *cisalpine*; and the name therefore corresponds in meaning with that of the Paroræi, who inhabited nearly the same district.

would be inaccurate, however, to assign any single level to the situation of Metzovo. The town is divided into two unequal portions by the deep valley, or rather chasm, of the torrent, which forms a branch of the river of Arta. By far the most considerable part is that situated on the west side of the valley; the buildings climbing the ascent of a steep and lofty hill, so as to give to the higher portion of the town an elevation of some hundred feet above the lower. The place contains nearly 1500 houses, and a population of seven or eight thousand. The houses are almost all single in position; and according to the usage of the country, have open galleries in front, looking towards the valley beneath the town. The intermixture of trees with the buildings still further increases the singularity of effect derived from their position, and from the general situation of the place. Other deep hollows, communicating with the main valley, break into the projecting hill on which Metzovo stands, and seem to render insecure the buildings which hang over them. Opposed to the town in front are the central heights of Pindus; their ascent intersected by numerous deep ravines, and the intervening ridges covered with pines, the peculiar growth of these higher regions.

The population of Metzovo is almost entirely of Wallachian descent. As in the adjoining canton of Zagora, a large proportion of the inhabitants are employed as shepherds, and numerous flocks of sheep belong to proprietors residing in the place, many of whom have acquired considerable wealth from this source. Another part of the population is engaged in the coarse woollen manufacture of the country; and others of the lower class in the culture of the vallies below the town, which, though thus elevated in situation, produce the grape in considerable quantity. The wine made here, however, is thin and poor, and strongly impregnated with turpentine, which is considered necessary for its preservation.

The position of Metzovo is one of the most interesting geographical points in the south of Turkey. From that part of the chain of Pindus in its vicinity, four large rivers take their rise, each of which pursues a different course towards the sea. The river of Arta, the course and



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Metzovo.

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termination of which, in the gulph of Arta, have already been described, is the least considerable of these four streams. The Aspropotamo, better known by its ancient and celebrated name of Achelous, rises at no great distance from one of the sources of the former river. Its course is nearly in a southerly direction, through a mountainous region, which has been rarely trodden by the foot of the modern traveller. Flowing, at the distance of a short day's journey, beyond the upper extremity of the gulph of Arta, it continues its progress between the ancient Ætolia and Acarnania, and enters the Ionian Sea near the town of Messalongi, and opposite the small islands which were the Ehinades of antiquity. The connection of the river Achelous with the fabled history of Hercules, is well known to the classical reader. The third of these rivers, and one yet more celebrated in its former name and history, is the Peneus, or Salympria, as it is now called, which rises on the eastern side of that part of Pindus immediately above Metzovo, and, descending into the great plains of Thessaly, pursues its course to the Archipelago, through the deep and precipitous defiles of Tempe. The Viosa is the last of the streams I have mentioned, the Aöus or Aias of antiquity: this large river, of which I shall afterwards have occasion to speak, when describing my journey in the northern parts of Albania, has its origin in the mountains to the north of Metzovo, flows in a north-east direction to Tepeleni, and enters the Adriatic sea near the site of the ancient city of Apollonia.

The state of the weather during our progress from the Khan of Kyra to Metzovo, was very unfavourable to any general mineralogical remarks. The ridge intervening between the plains of Ioannina and the valley of the river of Arta, exhibits, where the road crosses it, a series of beds or layers of calcareous shale, regularly disposed, but in some places with very great inclination. This formation seems to be of comparatively recent origin, and may have been derived from the decomposition of the older limestone-rocks of the country. I did not observe in it any marine organic remains. The same formation is seen along the banks of the river of Arta, a great

part of the way to Metzovo; often with a very contorted stratification; and interrupted at intervals by rocks of limestone of the same character as that formerly described, which come down in abrupt cliffs to the channel of the stream. This limestone probably forms the basis of all the country to the west of the river of Arta, and is the material also of the lower parts of the Pindus chain on its eastern side. The bed of the river, however, and the channels of the streams which join it from the east, contain fragments which prove that the more central parts of Pindus are composed in part of primitive formations. I observed fragments of sienite, porphyry, and serpentine; a few of mica slate, and others of a conglomerate rock, chiefly composed of primitive fragments. I did not see any granite, but a very great abundance of fragments of jasper, green, red, yellow, and of other shades of colour. The general aspect of the mountains about Metzovo has a good deal the character belonging to a primitive slate country, but I did not observe any direct evidence of this; the lower part of their declivities in the vallies being covered with limestone rocks or shale.

Our Tartar had rode before us into Metzovo, to fix upon a place for our night's lodging. He carried with him the Vizier's written mandate; and when we arrived, we found him examining different houses, to ascertain which was the best. With or against the will of the inhabitants, he opened the doors, entered the different apartments, and was absolute and authoritative in all his motions. Intending to cross the ridge of Pindus the following morning, it was more convenient that we should pass the night in that part of Metzovo which lies on the eastern side of the valley. The houses here are for the most part small and ill-constructed, and there was some difficulty in finding any which promised a tolerable degree of comfort. In that which was finally chosen for us, the inhabitants shewed at first some apprehension; they soon, however, became reconciled to us, and an hour after our arrival, half a dozen persons were assembled at the door of our apartment, watching each motion that we made with the most eager curiosity. In the evening, one

of the *sourudzes*, who had the charge of our horses in the journey, was brought to me to obtain medical advice. On examination, I found that he had so much fever, as to render it impossible that he should proceed, and it was decided that he should remain at Metzovo, until able to return to Ioannina.

We recommenced our journey at an early hour on the 17th, and accomplished in the course of this day a journey of ten hours, or from 30 to 34 miles, by a route the most interesting we had yet travelled in this country. The first and principal point in the journey was the passage of Pindus. We had been strongly advised to take with us from Metzovo, some peasants acquainted with the route, to assist our progress over the mountains, and our Tartar had engaged three or four people for this purpose. They did not, however, arrive at the appointed time, and the weather had fortunately now become so clear and serene, that we ventured upon our journey without this assistance; accompanied as the day before, by several men on horseback, who were travelling from Albania into Thessaly. That part of the ridge of Pindus which we had now to cross, is directly opposite to the face of the hill on which Metzovo stands, and intervenes between the sources of the river of Arta, and of the Salympria or Peneus. The comparative facility of ascent, afforded by the vallies of the torrents which form these rivers, has led to the choice of this place of passage; where the elevation of the chain also is less than in those parts of it further to the south. Opposite Metzovo, a mountain-stream forms a deep hollow to the very base of the summit ridge, and along this steep and rugged channel, the road, or rather track, is continued for two or three miles. While pursuing slowly this part of the route, we met a large train of Albanian soldiers, who, though the day was still little advanced, had already crossed the ridge of Pindus, from a Khan on the eastern side. Where we quitted this channel, it seemed as if the further progress of the ascent were utterly impracticable, and we looked upwards with astonishment at an impending promontory of rock, which at this time was nearly 1000 feet above us, but which the Tartar explained to be one point

in our route to the summit of the mountain. Our ascent thither was rendered possible only by long detours, to avoid the numerous precipices which appeared on each side of our tract; yet notwithstanding this circuitous direction of the road, the declivity was such, that we had much difficulty in urging our horses to continue their progress forwards. In winter, this part of the passage of the mountain is often wholly impracticable; and even when there is only a small quantity of snow on the ridge, the ascent becomes so dangerous, that guides are necessary to the security of the traveller. A violent wind is almost equally dreaded in traversing these lofty regions: sweeping through the deep hollows and recesses of the mountain, it forms whirlwinds so strong and impetuous, that the passage, even if possible, becomes extremely dangerous. We were fortunate in avoiding both these difficulties. The day was perfectly calm, and the snow, lying only in the clefts of the mountain, in no degree impeded our progress. Even at the summit of the ridge, a little after 9 o'clock, the thermometer did not fall below 34°; and we suffered no inconvenience in remaining some time on this elevated point, to gaze on the extraordinary scene around us.

A ridge it may indeed be called, to which a laborious ascent of two hours from Metzovo had conducted us. The summit where we crossed it, is scarcely a yard in width, and the same wedge-like form of this vast mountain-chain appears to be continued far towards the north. At this point, even the general calmness of the day did not exempt us from a strong wind, which, when increased in degree, renders the passage extremely difficult. The inspiration of Apollo and the Muses, the deities of Pindus, must be powerful indeed, which could produce a stanza in this spot on a winter's day; yet the view hence might well suggest the subject of a thousand. The plains of the ancient Thessaly lie expanded in the landscape before you. The Peneus of Tempe, a river well known to poetic lore, issues in mountain-streams from the rocks below your feet. Its beautiful vallies, luxuriant in the foliage of woods; picturesque, or even sublime, in the hills which form the boundary, may be traced league

after league, into the distant landscape. Beyond this, a succession of mountains and plains conduct the eye, in the remote distance, to the ever memorable Olympus; now, as in ancient times, covered with snows, which even the summer's sun of these climates does not entirely remove. Other heights appeared to the south of this great mountain, which, from their situation, we supposed to be Ossa and Pelion; and with respect to the former at least, the conjecture was founded in fact. With some earnestness we sought to discover the coast of the Archipelago, and the outline of the sea; but if they are actually to be seen from this remote point, the state of the sky, which in the horizon was covered with fleecy clouds, prevented us from obtaining this part of the view*. The chain of Pindus itself was not the least remarkable object in the landscape; having a strength and majesty of outline, which cannot easily be surpassed in mountain-scenery; its narrow ridges to the north of the spot where we stood, covered with woods of pine even to their summits; to the south, rising into much greater heights, which were deeply covered with snow; these heights forming the great mountains which intervene between the sources of the Achelous and the river of Arta. I should hesitate even in giving a very general surmise of the elevation of this lofty summit above the sea, as I have no barrometical observations on which to found a statement; and from the character of the mountains which form the loftiest points of the Pindus chain, it would, I conceive, be exceedingly difficult to obtain such observations, even at a more favourable period of the year. Taking the height of Metzovo at from 2,500 to 3000 feet, it would probably make the elevation of the chain where we crossed it, to be more than 4,500; and, judging from the level of the same line, I should imagine there would be no exaggeration in considering the summits which appear to the south, to be at least 2000, some of them probably 2,500 feet higher. But any estimate of this kind, as I have just stated, must

* Polybius mentions a mountain in this country, from which it is possible to see both seas.

be received with much caution, as the sources of deception are numerous in such cases.

The upper ridge of Pindus, where we traversed it, appears to be composed entirely of serpentine, which will immediately attract the attention of the traveller by its peculiarity of appearance. I first noticed this rock in quitting the direct valley of the stream, which we followed in the first part of our ascent from Metzovo. Near the summit, where the vegetation became very scanty, its exposed and glassy surface reflected the light of the sun, so as to produce a very remarkable and even brilliant effect. I did not observe any appearances of stratification; the rock shewing itself to the eye in rude amorphous peaks and masses. At the summit of the ridge, the road is carried between two elevations of this kind, which in some degree shelter the traveller in passing over this narrow pinnacle of mountain. This serpentine is perfectly distinct in its characters. It has a blackish green colour, which is pretty uniform throughout its substance, and mixed with very little red. The lustre is resinous, dull internally, externally glistening. The exposed surfaces of the rock are every-where covered with yellowish green steatite, generally disposed in a sort of scales upon the serpentine; a circumstance adding to the singularity before noticed in the appearance of the rock. Of the extent of this serpentine formation in the chain of Pindus, I am unable to speak; but from the external character of the mountains, and the fragments I found in the valley of the river of Arta, I should conceive it likely that it may occupy various points in the summit of the chain; probably reposing in these unconformable masses upon some of the primitive slate rocks.

Before carrying the reader with me into the vale of the Peneus, and the plains of Thessaly, I must be allowed a few words respecting the geography of the Pindus chain, as well ancient as modern. I cannot expect indeed to afford much that is new or important on this subject; but even minute additions to our geographical knowledge have a certain value which may excuse their introduction into the narrative of the traveller.

The great chain of mountains, of which a part was called Pindus, forms a central line of elevation throughout the south of Turkey; and for about a hundred miles is nearly equi-distant from the eastern and western coasts of this peninsula. To form the simplest idea of its general outline, it may be considered to arise from the shores of the gulph of Corinth, by the chain which formerly had the names of Parnassus, Corax, &c. and from the Maliac Gulph at Thermopylæ by the chain of Mount Oeta. These two ranges are united in the region of the ancient Doris, and from their union the central chain of Pindus is continued in a north or north-north-east direction, gradually inclining towards the coast of the Adriatic, and giving off various collateral ranges of mountains, particularly on its western side. In applying the name of Pindus to this central ridge, I do so merely for the convenience of description, as no part of the chain now bears this name, and even by the ancients it seems to have been applied only to one portion of its extent. The modern appellations of the different mountains composing it, have no evident relation to the names or divisions of ancient geography, and do not themselves appear to be determined with great accuracy. I need mention only a few of the more remarkable points in that part of the chain which is more immediately connected with the modern Albania.

At some distance from the upper extremity of the gulph of Arta is the ridge of Makronoros, or the Long Mountain. To the north of this rises the vast and apparently insulated mountain-mass of Tzumerka, and still loftier hills raise themselves to the north-east and north of this, forming the eastern barrier to the valley of the river of Arta, and stretching thence backwards to the valley of the Aspropotamo. These mountains, which in the view from Ioannina, fill up in the distance the interval between Tzumerka and Metzoukel, and which we had seen fronting us when descending to the river of Arta, are commonly known by the name of Agrafa. The mountains of Zagora, and the Greater Metzovo, as that part of the mountains is often called, which the road ascends and traverses into Thessaly, may be considered to form another part of the chain farther to the north,

Beyond Metzovo, in the same direction, is the ridge of Mavronoros; or the Black Mountain; and successively yet further to the north the mountains of Tzebel and Samarina, which I have not myself seen, but conceive from the information of others to be among the most elevated points in Albania. The chain still continues its progress northwards, passing near Ochrida, dividing the ancient Illyricum and Macedonia; gives origin to many large rivers, and extends itself even into the northern provinces of the Turkish empire.

From Livy, Strabo, Polybius, Pliny, and other writers, we derive many facts regarding the ancient divisions of these mountains, and particularly of that part of the chain which formed the barrier between Epirus and Thessaly. There are, however, several circumstances in this geography, which it is difficult entirely to understand. The name of Pindus seems to have been applied without much precision, sometimes to a considerable extent of the chain just described; occasionally only to a particular mountain, or groupe of mountains; either forming a part of the division between Epirus and Thessaly, or, as Strabo says, in the passage given below, belonging to Thessaly itself*. Much of the difficulty here arises from the uncertainty of the ancient geographical divisions in this part of Greece. The limits of the greater divisions of Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Acarnania, and Ætolia, are indistinct, and differently assigned by different writers; and the subdivisions of these states, as might be expected, are yet more obscure. We may account for this circumstance, partly by considering the frequent changes which war and conquest effected in the boundaries of those countries; partly by a reference to the fact, that the chain of Pindus, and its collateral mountains, were inhabited by many distinct tribes, some of them of migratory character, and all of them, probably, undefined in the limits of the territory on which they dwelt. Accordingly we find that

* Strabo, describing Pindus, (lib. ix.) says, Ἡ δὲ Πίνδος ὄρος μεγα, ὄρος ἀρκτον μὲν την Μακεδονιαν, ὄρος ἑσπεραν δὲ Περραιβες ἐχουσα, παρα δὲ μεσημβριαν Δολοπας· ἀυτη δ' ἐστι της Θετταλιας.

these intricacies in the ancient geography of the country, occur chiefly in those districts which are traversed by the great Pindus chain; and that elsewhere, if ignorant, we are at least less perplexed by the multitude of names, and indistinctness of localities.

From the description of Strabo, there seems reason to believe that the name of Pindus was particularly applied to the mountains now known by the name of the Greater Metzovo, — the groupe of lofty heights, which has been already described as stretching upwards to the sources of the river of Arta near Metzovo, and forming there the ridge which we traversed in our journey from Albania into Thessaly. The evidences of this opinion are briefly given in the subjoined *note. One of the principal summits in this groupe of mountains is that I have mentioned, intervening between the sources of the Achelous, the Aracthus, and the Peneus; and from this peculiar situation, furnishing a further indirect proof that this was the Pindus of antiquity. Considering it then as such, we may presume with probability that the tribe of the Perrhæbii occupied the country about Metzovo, and the upper part of the valley of the river of Arta; and that their three cities, Azorus, Doliche, and Pythium, were situated in this district. Homer mentions the Perrhæbiias inhabiting the country around

* Strabo, in the passage already quoted, says that Pindus has Macedonia to the north, the Perrhæbii to the west, and Dolopia to the south, — a description which corresponds with the situation of the mountains in front of Metzovo, relatively to these several districts. Thucydides (lib. ii.), in describing the course of the Achelous, says, Ὁ Ἀχελωος ποταμος ῥεων ἐκ Πινδου ὀρους δια Δολοπιας, &c. It has before been mentioned that this river rises at no great distance from Metzovo; and from this passage, therefore, we have a direct testimony that these mountains had the particular name of Pindus, and a confirmation to the former passage of Strabo, regarding the relative situation of Pindus and Dolopia. — Strabo, in another part of his seventh book, mentions a dispute between the Tymphæans and the Thessalians, living under Pindus, in which of their districts were the fountains of the Peneus. Now the two mountain-torrents, from which the Peneus is formed, rise at no very great distance from each other, and one of them from the mountains which I suppose to be particularly denoted by the name of Pindus. Mount Tympha or Stympha, where is the other source of the Peneus, cannot be far distant from Metzovo, as Strabo describes the Aracthus to arise from the mountain Stympha and Paroreia.

Dodona, in which case (if I have rightly speculated upon the situation of the Oracle) we must suppose them to have extended as far down the valley as the vicinity of Tzumerka; but, even acknowledging all the accuracy of Homer's geography, we are not to seek from him information thus minute, where the subject of his poem is not immediately concerned.

To the south of Perrhæbia, and perhaps including a part of it, was Molossia, a small and mountainous region, yet esteemed one of the principal divisions of Epirus, and its inhabitants among the most ancient and noble of the country. As the Molossi touched upon the coast, near the higher extremity of the gulph of Ambracia *, we may consider that nearly the whole western side of the Pindus chain, from opposite the gulph to the vicinity of Metzovo, was occupied by this people and the Perrhæbii. Regarding the Selloi and Hellopes as subordinate tribes of the Molossi, inhabiting the vallies of the mountainous country between Dodona and the † Achelous, we find in the valley of the latter river, as it passes through the mountains, three different districts, Dolopia, Agræa, and ‡ Amphilochia; the first, as was before mentioned, situated near the sources of the river under Pindus; Agræa, a part of the valley further to the south; and Amphilochia, the district through which the Achelous flows to the eastward of the gulph of Arta, and which is generally considered as belonging to Acarnania, though by some writers placed in Epirus.

The other tribes of people, who anciently inhabited the chain of Pindus, were the Athamanes, Æthices, Tymphæi, Orestæ, Paroræi, &c. Strabo, who enumerates these tribes, speaks of them as in-

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* See Perip. Scylac.

† See Strabo, lib. i. Aristot, Meteorol. i. 14,

‡ See Thucyd. lib. ii, Ptolemy speaks of the Dolopes as inhabiting the country above the Cassiopæi; but the limits of Cassiopæa, a region in the interior of the Epirus, are so vaguely defined, that this expression adds little to our local relative knowlege. From Livy (lib. xxxvi. 33.) we may infer that the Perrhæbii and Dolopes adjoined each other, which accords with the situation I have assigned to these tribes,

habiting the high and rugged country above, or to the north of Amphilochia; and the order in which he mentions them, affords some idea of their relative situation. The Athamanes probably possessed the country between the Dolopes on the Achelous, and the upper part of the river Peneus*. The Æthices, who Homer says were the Centaurs expelled by Pirithous from Thessaly, must have been situated somewhat further to the north. The Tymphæi occupied the vicinity of Mount Tympha, or Stympha, which mountain, as it gave rise to the river Aracthus, was one of those near Metzovo; and the Orestæ and Paroræi were probably situated in the same district, since the Aracthus is said to have had its sources also among the latter people†. Perhaps as two sources of this river are mentioned by Strabo, we may suppose that he alludes to the two branches, which unite near the Khan of Balduni; in which case, it may be presumed that the Orestæ and Paroræi inhabited the mountainous region now called Zagora, a district which I have already described. The only reason I know against this idea, and that one of little weight, is, that Livy appears to have described the mountains of Zagora under the name of Lingon, in narrating the retreat of the last Philip of Macedon from Epirus‡. I do not find the name of Lingon in any other author; but it is nevertheless possible that it may have been applied to the mountains, on which dwelt the two tribes just mentioned.

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* Ptolemy speaks of the Athamanes as being to the east of Amphilochia; and this position accords sufficiently well with that supposed above.

† Callimachus, in his hymn to Diana, praises the Βοες Τυμφαιδες; the cattle belonging to this district of Tymphæa.

‡ Inde (ex Triphyliâ Melotidis) postero die ingenti itinere agminis, in montem Lingon perrexit. Ipsi montes Epiri sunt: interjecti Macedoniæ, Thessaliæque: latus quod vergit in Thessaliam oriens spectat: septentrio a Macedonia objicitur. Vestiti frequentibus silvis sunt: juga summa campos patentes, aquasque perennes habent. Lib. xxxii. cap. 13.—This description perfectly applies to Zagora, both as respects the character of the mountains, and the previous march of Philip's army. I find that Mr. Hobhouse adopts the same opinion as to the Mount Lingon of Livy. See his Travels, p. 61.

The Atintanes, a people mentioned by Strabo, Livy, and Polybius, appear to have inhabited a part of the chain of mountains further to the north, on the borders of Chaonia; and from a passage in the last author, I think it probable that the district of Atintania was among that groupe of mountains now called Nimertzka, which will be mentioned when I speak of my second journey in Albania. Eordæa, Elimiotis, and Lyncestis were other mountainous tracts in the same chain, generally included in Macedonia; but, as it appears from Livy and Arrian, adjoining the Atintanes, Tymphæi, and Peroræi*. All these people, according to Livy, inhabited a cold and rugged country, and were themselves warlike and ferocious in their habits of life. We are less minutely acquainted with the ancient geography of these mountains further to the north; but the names of Candavia, Mount Scordus, &c. evidently belong to the same great chain, as it extends itself in this direction between the ancient Illyria and Macedonia.

Several circumstances in Grecian and Roman history are illustrated by the geography of the mountains of Pindus. The passage in which Arrian describes the march of Alexander from Illyria into Thessaly, renders it probable that he made the passage over Pindus by the Metzovo route, which has already been described; descending afterwards along the vale of the Peneus to Pellina†. Julius Cæsar appears to have crossed the mountains precisely at the same place, when marching with his army into Thessaly, to revenge at Pharsalia the repulse he had sustained at Dyrrhachium. In the wars between the last Philip of Macedon and the Romans, in which the Ætolians, the

* Strabo, lib. vii. Livy, lib. xlv. cap. 30.—Polybius says that the Epirotes, vanquished by the Illyrians, near Antigonia, fled towards the Atintanes.

† Livy, lib. xlv. 30. Ἀγων δε παρα την Εορδαιαν τε και την Ελυμιωτιν, και παρα τα της Στυμφαιας και Παργαιας ἀκρα, ἑβδομαιος ἀφικνειται εις Πελληνην της Θετταλιας. Arrian. Exp. Alex. lib. i. — It is probable that the districts of Eordæa and Lyncestis extended a considerable way northwards, as Strabo mentions that the *Via Ignatia* passed through them, — the great road from Apollonia on the Adriatic to Thessalonica.

Epirotes, the Athamanes, &c. were likewise engaged, the region of Pindus was a frequent scene of contest. After the defeat which Philip sustained from T. Q. Flaminius, in the passes of the river Aöus in Epirus, he fled with the remainder of his army over Mount Lingon into Thessaly, followed soon afterwards by the Consul, who took several strong towns situated under Pindus, and in the course of the Peneus. At a later period, Philip, now become the ally of the Romans against Antiochus, entered the same country; and took possession of the different fortresses in Athamania and Perrhæbia, a circumstance which was afterwards severely reprehended at Rome. In the war between the Romans and Perseus the son of Philip, P. Licinius carried his army from Epirus into Thessaly, over the chain of the Pindus and through Athamania; the difficulties of this march Livy describes to be such, that had the Macedonian king opposed two hundred men to the Roman Consul at certain points in his route, the destruction would have been exceedingly great. This will be easily conceived by all who have traversed the ridge of Metzovo, an Alpine passage, that is difficult even to the traveller, and to an army must be formidable in the extreme.*

To look back into yet more ancient history regarding the mountains of Pindus, we find that in some of their deep vallies and recesses dwelt the earliest settlers in Greece; and around the sacred temple of Dodona were the vestiges of that people and of those traditions which form the commencement of a history that will ever be venerable to posterity.

The present, as well as the ancient, population of this chain of mountains, is variously composed; and Greeks, Albanians, and Wallachians are all found in different towns and villages, which are scattered through its vallies and on the declivities of its hills. The last have already been noticed in speaking of Zagora, Kalarites, and Metzovo; and they occupy various other flourishing towns in this line of elevated country, forming in fact the most interesting and important

* Livy, lib. xlii. cap. 55.

part of its population. They are descended from those wandering tribes of Wallachians, who, as we find from the Byzantine historians *, migrated southwards about the eleventh and twelfth centuries, from the districts near the Danube, into Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, forming settlements in the mountainous regions of these countries, partly from the greater security they here obtained, partly from the accordance of this situation with their ancient habits as shepherds. This insulation, and mode of life, have tended to preserve them in great measure separated as a people; and the Wallachian towns and villages of Pindus, which are very numerous in those parts of the chain between Albania and Thessaly, have all a distinct character, which probably has continued for centuries. The Vlaki are a hardy and active people, more regular and less ferocious in their habits than the Albanians, to whom they are not allied in their origin, and but little as it appears in later connection. Their employment as shepherds in these mountainous tracts has already been noticed. The more considerable Wallachian towns are generally engaged in the woollen manufacture of the country, or in some branch of overland commerce; and their inhabitants are in much repute as among the best artizans of Greece. It may further be remarked, that there is an air of active industry, neatness, and good order in these towns, which, while it distinguishes them from all others in the south of Turkey, affords a singular contrast to the wild and rugged scenery by which they are surrounded.

* Nicetas, in Annal. Alex. Comnen. et Baldwin. Pachymer in Hist. Andron., Anna Comnena, &c.

CHAP. XI.

DESCENT FROM PINDUS. — PROGRESS ALONG THE VALLEY OF THE SALYMPRIA. — KALABAKA. — ROCKS AND MONASTERIES OF METEORA. — ASCENT TO ONE OF THE MONASTERIES IN A NET. — ANTIQUITY OF THESE ROCKS. — THEIR MINERALOGICAL CHARACTERS. — TRIKALA. — ZARKO. — ARRIVAL AT LARISSA.

HAVING enjoyed for some time the magnificent view from the summit of Pindus, we began our descent towards the valley of the Salympria, or Peneus, which lies at its feet. On this side of the ridge the declivity is more gradual, formed by successive shelves of mountain, the more elevated of which are covered with pines, those lower down with beeches, plane trees, &c. At a short distance below the summit, the road passes a solitary building, called the Zygo-Khan, or Khan of the Ridge, sheltered in some degree from the inclemencies of its situation by the woods which surround it. In descending as well as in ascending the mountain, we met numerous cavalcades of horses, some of them attended by Tartars, others by Albanian soldiers or peasants, pursuing their journey from Thessaly into Albania. The number of horses we passed in the course of our day's journey might probably exceed four hundred; the greater part of them loaded with grain or cotton from the plains of Thessaly, or with coarse woollen cloths manufactured in the same country. This overland traffic is carried on with great regularity, and forms one method by which the people of Thessaly dispose of the exuberant produce of their fertile country.

Having descended two hours by a winding path, through woods and along the ridges of the mountain, we arrived at the Khan of Malakassi, situated near the confluence of the two streams which unite to form the Salympria, and probably at no great distance from

the site of the ancient Æginium. Just above the Khan a singular insulated peak of serpentine rises abruptly from the surface, having the same vitreous aspect as the rocks near the summit of Pindus, and so remarkably broken and rugged as to resemble one of the streams of obsidian in the Lipari Isles. On the steep ascent of a mountain above the northern branch of the Salympria, stands the town of Malakassi; the buildings of which, probably about 500 in number, are scattered over a wide surface, and interspersed with trees like those of Metzovo. The population is Wallachian; and occupied chiefly as shepherds among the neighbouring mountains, or in the culture of the valley below the town. At the Khan we stopped a short time, while the Tartar, and our other companions, made their noon-day meal. Even when travelling, these people seldom eat any thing till 11 or 12 o'clock; following in this the common habits of the country, which makes a cup of coffee the only repast of the morning, both to the Turkish and Greek inhabitants. Our Tartar very scrupulously abstained from wine, and when interrogated on the subject, simply remarked that he was a good Mussulman, and had nothing to do with it.

The valley of Salympria became each moment more interesting, as we continued our journey down the river. The scenery is on a large scale, but without any harshness of feature. The mountains forming the boundary of the valley, rise to a great height, but for the most part they are richly wooded, occasionally even to their summits. The valley itself is covered with a profusion of foliage, much of it being that of the plane-tree, which is extremely luxuriant in its growth, and takes a rich autumnal tint. The channel of the river is occasionally confined by precipitous cliffs, but more generally spread out into a wide bed; or diverging so as to inclose an insulated groupe of trees, or an island thicket, the effect of which, in this situation, is highly picturesque and pleasing. During the floods of winter, the breadth of the river, thus divided into various channels, must often exceed a quarter of a mile; but at this time the stream scarcely occupied a tenth part of its bed; and we shortened our route

in many places, by traversing its gravelly bottom, among the water-worn fragments of a rock, which mark its winter's course. At the distance of three hours journey from Malakassi, we arrived at a Khan situated on the right bank of the Salympria, and two or three miles beyond this place crossed the valley of a considerable river, descending into the Salympria from the west. The large town of Klinovo, I believe to be situated in this valley, inhabited by descendants of the Wallachian tribes of Pindus; as is the case also with the people of many of the villages in the upper part of the course of the Aspropotamo. The mountains here increase in height, presenting broad and precipitous fronts on each side of the valley, and still luxuriantly covered with wood. Looking upwards along the course of this river, we saw in the distance some of the central heights of the Pindus chain, deeply covered with snow. Its source is probably at no great distance from the Aspropotamo; the mountains just mentioned forming a barrier between the latter river and the valley of the Salympria.

The country through which we had been passing, from the ridge of Pindus to this place, was that called by the antients, Athamania; the people of which district occasionally bore an important part in the wars between the Romans and the later kings of Macedon*. Of Argithea, (which is described as the principal place in Athamania,) of Heraclea, Tetraphylia, and the other towns in this region, I am not aware that any vestiges now remain; except, doubtless, those rocky fortresses of nature, which enabled the Athamanes to rescue themselves from slavery, and successfully to oppose the efforts of Philip again to reduce them to obedience. Neither can I assign with certainty the situation of Gomphi, a city which was repeatedly the subject of contest in the wars just alluded to; and which Julius Cæsar took by scaling the walls, when marching from Epirus into

* Strabo, indeed, seems to consider the Athamanes, as among the Epirote tribes, and Stephanus speaks of Athamania as a country of Illyria; but this diversity is easily explained by the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

Thessaly, before the battle of Pharsalia*; there is reason to believe, however, that it was on the right bank of the Peneus, and probably not very far distant from the confluence of the river descending from Klinovo. I do not find in the ancient writers any distinct reference to the latter stream. The Ion, mentioned by Strabo, as flowing into the Peneus, appears to be rather the most northerly of the two branches which were before mentioned, as uniting near the Khan of Malakassi to form the Salympria†. M. d'Anville adopts this idea; though it must be remarked, that his delineation of this part of the Grecian continent is extremely obscure, owing to the deficiency of modern information respecting its geography.

From the banks of the river of Klinovo to Kalabaka, where we proposed to pass the night, is a distance of about five miles. The road in this part of the way is extremely good, but not entirely without danger from robbers, who, availing themselves of the woods which line the banks of the Salympria, occasionally interrupt the traveller in his route. In one spot, where a range of woody eminences comes down to the river, our Tartar urged us forwards on a hard trot for nearly two miles, this place being particularly the resort of a banditti; and the time of the day favourable to any enterprize against us. A Khan, which was pointed out to us by the road side, half destroyed by fire, bore a melancholy testimony to the manner in which these ravages are committed. The strong arm of Ali Pasha is probably less effective on this side of Pindus; but nevertheless, under his government, the situation of banditti is so desperate, that plunder and death most generally go together.

* Hist. Bell. Civil. lib. iii. Cæsar, who gave up Gomphi to be sacked by his soldiers, calls it, *oppidum plenum atque opulentum*, and describes it as the first town in Thessaly to those coming from Epirus. See also Liv. lib. xxxi. c. 41. and lib. xxxviii. c. 2. Gomphi was situated in that district of Thessaly, called Estiæotis.

† Strabo (lib. vii.) speaks of Æginium as near the river Ion, and elsewhere mentions the same place as being ομορον Τυμφαιαν, adjoining the Tymphæi; from which it may be inferred, that the Ion is one of the two branches forming the Peneus.

Long before we reached the town of Kalabaka, our attention was engaged by the distant view of the extraordinary rocks of the Meteora, which give to the vicinity of this place, a character perfectly unique to the eye, and not less remarkable in the reality of the scene. These rocks are seen from a great distance in descending the valley of the Salympria; but it was not until we had forded over to the left bank of the river, a short distance above Kalabaka, that we became aware of all the singularity of their situation and character. On this side of the Salympria, and about a mile distant from the river, they rise from the comparatively flat surface of the valley; a groupe of insulated masses, cones, and pillars of rock, of great height, and for the most part so perpendicular in their ascent, that each one of their numerous fronts seems to the eye as a vast wall, formed rather by the art of man, than by the more varied and irregular workings of nature. In the deep and winding recesses which form the intervals between these lofty pinnacles, the thick foliage of trees gives a shade and colouring, which, while they enhance the contrast, do not diminish the effect of the great masses of naked rock impending above. When we approached this spot, the evening was already far advanced, but the setting sun still threw a gleam of light on the summits of these rocky pyramids, and shewed us the outline of several Greek monasteries in this extraordinary situation, and seeming as if entirely separated from the reach of the world below. For the moment the delusion might have been extended to the moral character of these institutions, and the fancy might have framed to itself a purer form of religion amidst this insulated magnificence of nature, than when contaminated by a worldly intercourse and admixture. How completely this is delusion, it requires but a hasty reference to the present and past history of monastic worship, sufficiently to prove. It is the splendour of nature alone, which is seen in the rocks of Meteora; and the light of the sun lingering on their heights, shews only those monuments of mingled vanity and superstition, which have arisen from the devices of selfish policy, or of mistaken religion.

The small town of Kalabaka*, containing about 200 houses, is situated immediately below the loftiest of these singular pinnacles of rock, which seems absolutely to impend over the place and its inhabitants. The largest building in the town, and the only one of tolerable appearance, is a house belonging to Veli Pasha. Into this we could not obtain admittance, but our Tartar, who galloped forwards from the pass where there had been apprehension of robbers, procured an apartment for us in the habitation of a Greek family, which appeared to be among the best in the place. Nevertheless our accommodation was simply that of bare walls and flooring, a small oil-lamp, and a wood fire on the hearth, which, as there was no chimney, soon filled the room with a cloud of smoke. Our hosts, as usual, were curious in their observation of us, and assembled many of their neighbours to partake in the spectacle. Soon after our arrival, a young Greek came in, who announced himself as a *grammatikos*, or secretary of Veli Pasha, and offered his services to us in any way that we might choose to accept them. We in consequence began to interrogate him respecting the rocks and monasteries of Meteora, as the object which then chiefly engaged our attention. The names of the different convents, and the number of monks inhabiting them, he gave us with much minuteness; but when we asked the period of their erection; and were told by our *grammatikos* that it was coeval with the creation of the world, we desisted from further enquiry, and commissioned him to buy eggs and milk for our supper. *Ex nitido fit rusticus.*

The following morning was occupied in a very interesting excursion to these rocks and monasteries, which may unquestionably be regarded as a spectacle of an extraordinary and magnificent kind. The groupe of rocks of Meteora is almost entirely insulated from the adjoining hills, and many of its parts are completely so. It is irregular

* The Romaic name of this place is said to be Stagus, or Stagi; and it therefore corresponds with the Stagos mentioned by the Byzantine writers. See Ioan. Cantacuz. Hist. lib. ii.

in form and extent; but generally speaking, the exterior line of the rocks may be said to form two sides of a triangle; the angular point, which is the highest; opposed to the south-east, and rising immediately behind Kalabaka; the base of the triangle being the hills, which stretch backwards into the country, from the valley of the Salympria. The extent of each side of this supposed figure may be somewhat more than two miles, though from the irregularity of the outline, it is difficult to speak of this with any precision. The point above Kalabaka, the summit of which is an irregular cone, cannot be less than from four to five hundred feet in height. On the side of the town it rises apparently to two-thirds of this height, by a perpendicular plane of rock, so uniform in surface, that it seems as if artificially formed: on the opposite side, the base of the rock falls even within the perpendicular line, and there is the same singular uniformity of surface. The pinnacle is clothed with some brush-wood, but it is perfectly inaccessible from any point of approach.

The most striking part of the scenery of Meteora is that to the north-west of this elevated point, and within the area of the supposed triangle. Following, for more than a mile, a narrow path, which conducted us below its precipitous front, and amidst other insulated masses of less considerable height, we entered one of the deep vallies or recesses, which lead to the interior of the groupe, and continued our progress along it, by a gradual ascent through the forest of wood which occupies this intervening space. On each side of us were lofty pinnacles of rock of the most extraordinary kind, some of them entirely conical, others single pillars of great height, and very small diameter; other masses very nearly rhomboidal in form, and actually inclining over their base; others again perfect squares or oblongs, with perpendicular sides, and level summits. Nor by the term *masses*, are mere fragments of rock to be understood. It is the original mountain which is cleft and divided in this wonderful manner; by what agency it might be difficult to determine, but perhaps by the conjoint operation of earthquakes, and of that progressive decay and *detritus*, which proceed so perpetually and so extensively over the face of the globe. The height of these insulated

rocks is various. The greater number rise more than a hundred feet from the level of the valley of the Salympria; several reach the height of two and three hundred feet; and that of which I have already spoken, above Kalabaka, appears to exceed four hundred feet in height.

The Greek monasteries of Meteora are variously situated, either on the summits of these pinnacles, or in caverns, which nature and art have united to form in parts of the rock, that seem inapproachable by the foot of man. Their situation, indeed, is more extraordinary than can be understood from description alone. Four of the monasteries actually occupy the whole summit of the insulated rocks on which they stand; a perpendicular precipice descending from every side of the buildings into the deep-wooded hollows, which intervene between the heights. The only access to these aerial prisons is by ropes, or by ladders fixed firmly to the rock, in those places where its surface affords any points of suspension; and these ladders, in some instances, connected with artificial subterranean tunnels, which give a passage of easier ascent to the buildings above. The monastery called by distinction, the Meteora, which is the largest of the number, stands in the remarkable situation just described, and is accessible only in this method. Still more extraordinary is the position of another of these buildings, on the left hand of the approach to the former. It is situated on a narrow rectangular pillar of rock, apparently about 120 feet in height; the summit of which is so limited in extent, that the walls of the monastery seem on every side to have the same plane of elevation as the perpendicular faces of the rock. The monks whom vanity or superstition condemned to an abode in this place, might once perhaps have obtained something of that fame, which Simeon Stylites purchased for himself by a similar, yet more exalted degree of religious inflictions*: but these days and

* Simeon Stylites obtained his name from a pillar, which he himself erected on a mountain in Syria, of the height of sixty feet; on the summit of which he is said to have continued during years, as an act of religious devotion; expiring on the spot which had thus long been the scene of his pious folly.

H.Holland. del.

P.Byrne. sculp.t

Vale of the Peneus from Meteora.

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opinions are gone by, and the wretched devotee of Meteora now procures little more than the pity or contempt of the world, upon which he looks down from his solitary and comfortless dwelling.

The number of monasteries at Meteora is said to have been formerly twenty-four; but at present, owing partly to the wearing away of the rocks on which they stood, partly to the decay of the buildings themselves, only ten of these remain, of which the following are inhabited: — Meteora or Meteoron, Aios Stephanos, Barlaam, Aia Triada, Aios Nicholas, Rosaria, and Aia Mone. Aios Stephanos, which we visited, is among the most extraordinary of the number; its height is upwards of 180 feet. To arrive at the foot of the pinnacle on which it stands, we proceeded up the recess among the rocks by a steep and rugged path, winding underneath the foliage of the ancient trees which spread their roots among the vast masses detached from the rocks above. It is impossible to describe the character and variety of the scenery which meets the eye at every moment in this route. Each turning of the path, each opening in the foliage, discloses a new picture, formed by the singular grouping of these insulated peaks, by the outline of the different monasteries on their summits, by the forest of wood underneath, and by the occasional breaks which give the more distant landscape to the view. Two points struck me particularly, one in which, looking back upon the broad and luxuriant valley of the Salympria, and the noble mountain-scenery on the opposite side of this river, you have this landscape bounded to the eye on each side by the precipitous fronts of the Meteora rocks; the other, where the path conducts you through a defile, not more than twenty or thirty yards in width, between two rocks, each probably more than 300 feet in height, the intervening space filled up by trees and vast detached fragments. On the summit of one of these rocks stands the monastery, to which it was our intention to ascend. The greater monastery of Meteora is not more than a mile distant from it; but this had already been visited by other travellers, and it was desirable to extend the survey of these curious establishments.

Passing through the ravine just mentioned, we wound round the base of the rock, gradually ascending till we came to the foot of a perpendicular line of cliff, and looking up saw the buildings of the monastery immediately above our heads. A small wooden shed projected beyond the plane of the cliff, from which a rope, passing over a pulley at the top, descended to the foot of the rock. Our Tartar shouted loudly to a man who looked down from above, ordering him to receive us into the monastery; but at this time the monks were engaged in their chapel, and it was ten minutes before we could receive an answer to his order, and our request. At length we saw a thicker rope coming down from the pulley, and attached to the end of it a small rope net, which, we found, was intended for our conveyance to this aerial habitation. The net reached the ground; our Tartar, and a peasant whom we had with us from Kalabaka, spread it open, covered the lower part with an Albanese capote, and my friend and I seated ourselves upon this slender vehicle. As we began to ascend, our weight drew close the upper aperture of the net, and we lay crouching together, scarcely able, and little willing, to stir either hand or foot. We rose with considerable rapidity; and the projection of the shed and pulley beyond the line of the cliff was sufficient to secure us against injury from striking upon the rock. Yet the ascent had something in it that was formidable, and the impression it made was very different from that of the descent into a mine, where the depth is not seen, and the sides of the shaft give a sort of seeming security against danger. Here we were absolutely suspended in the air, our only support was the thin cordage of a net, and we were even ignorant of the machinery, whether secure or not, which was thus drawing us rapidly upwards. We finished the ascent, however, which is 156 feet, in safety, and in less than three minutes*. When opposite the door of the wooden shed, several monks and other people appeared, who dragged the net into the apartment, and

* The passage through the air, at the monastery of Barlaam, is nearly 200 feet.

released us from our cramped and uncomfortable situation. We found, on looking round us, that these men had been employed in working the windlass, which raised us from the ground; and in observing some of their feeble and decayed figures, it was impossible to suppose that the danger of our ascent had been one of appearance alone. Our servant Demetrius, meanwhile, had been making a still more difficult progress upwards, by ladders fixed to the ledges of the rock, conducting to a subterranean passage; which opens out in the middle of the monastery.

The monks received us with civility; and we remained with them more than an hour in their extraordinary habitation. The buildings are spread irregularly over the whole summit of the rock, enclosing two or three small areas: they have no splendour, either external or internal, and exhibit but the appearances of wretchedness and decay. Nevertheless the monks conducted us through every one of their dark and dilapidated rooms, and seemed to require a tribute of admiration, which, though little due to the objects for which it was sought, might conscientiously be given to the magnificent natural scenery round and beneath their monastery. They led us on one side into a wooden gallery, supported by beams obliquely fixed in the rock, and projecting beyond the cliff, so as absolutely to impend over the deep ravine below. From this gallery we had a noble view of the great rock, on which stands the convent of Meteora; we saw the same apparatus of ropes and pullies which had raised us to our present elevated situation; and observed at the very moment that the monks were drawing up panniers of provisions from some loaded horses which stood at the foot of the cliff. Our hosts led us to a area on the opposite side of their monastery, from which we looked downwards, through a sort of avenue of pinnacles of rock, upon the valley and stream of the Salympria, and saw in the distance the snow-covered summits of the Pindus chain. This area is probably about 300 feet above the level of the ground below; but a narrow ledge on this side the monastery, thirty feet lower than the summit of the rock, affords the means of cultivating a few vegetables, and of

collecting rain water for the use of the monks. We were afterwards conducted into the chapel, a small building, no otherwise remarkable than for those tawdry and tasteless ornaments which are so common in the Greek churches; and of which, though now greatly decayed, our monks appeared not a little proud. I could observe no inscription, or other circumstance, which might furnish a proof of the exact time when the monastery was founded; and my enquiries after books and manuscripts, though made with some earnestness, and varied in different ways, were answered only by shewing me a few old volumes of Greek homilies, and some other pieces of ecclesiastical writing, which did not appear to have the smallest value. Whether this proceeded from apprehension that we might carry off their books, or from their really possessing no others, I will not pretend to say; but the latter is the more probable supposition*.

There were only five monks, with a few attendants, resident in the monastery when we visited it; all of them miserable in their exterior, and with conceptions as narrow and confined as the rocks on which they live. We asked them if they knew when the convents of Meteora were founded: they were totally ignorant of the matter, and could only answer, Πολλα παλαια εἶναι, "they are very ancient," an expression which was often repeated to us, in a manner that almost savoured of idiotcy. Even their insulated and almost inaccessible situation has not secured these poor people from plunder and outrage. The property belonging to the several monasteries is in the vallies below,

* Biornstahl examined the libraries of four of the monasteries, but found nothing that was of very great importance. In that of Meteora was a manuscript containing some fragments of Hesiod and Sophocles, but probably of recent date; also some manuscripts of the New Testament, in which Biornstahl remarks that the text of the three witnesses is wanting. In the same library he discovered a Codex, with an account of a Jew, in the time of Justinian, who asserted that the name of Jesus Christ was to be found in the catalogue of the priests of the Temple at Jerusalem; which catalogue, it is said, was saved and carried to Tiberias, when the Temple was destroyed. In the monastery of Barlaam are the works of many of the Greek Fathers, and various manuscripts, but none of them possessing any considerable value.

H.Holland. del.

G.Cooke. sculp.

Monastery of Meteora. Thessaly.

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and the inhabitants of a small village underneath their rocks supply food to these aerial habitations. The Albanian soldiers have frequently plundered this village; and either depending on the mandate of their superiors, or on other less licensed means, occasionally compel an entrance into the monasteries themselves, the miserable proprietors of which have little security against such acts of outrage. They pay annually a certain tribute to Ali Pasha, the amount of which I was not able to learn, but which is probably varied by his arbitrary will.

Before quitting the monastery, we were conducted by the monks into their refectory, a dark room, without a single article of furniture, where a repast was set before us, consisting of a dish of rice cooked in oil; a Turkish dish composed of flour, eggs, and oil; bread, and thin wine. After making a hasty meal, and offering a compensation for the civility we had received, we bade farewell to the solitary tenants of this ex-mundane abode, were a second time slung in the net, and, after a safe and easy descent of about two minutes, found ourselves again at the foot of this vast rock, where our Tartar had been passing the interval in a profound sleep.

The plan of our journey did not allow us time to visit the greater monastery of Meteora, which, however, we should have done, had not previous examination rendered it almost certain that no manuscripts of value exist here. The date of the erection of these monasteries does not appear to be exactly known, and it is perhaps most probable that they were not all founded at the same time, but at different periods, and by different persons. It is needful to suppose that at the time when they were built, the rocks must have been somewhat less abrupt than at present, otherwise it is difficult to conceive the possibility of commencing their structure, or even of reaching the places on which they stand. The Swedish traveller, Biornstahl, visited the monasteries of Meteora in 1779, and, remaining in this vicinity several weeks, had the opportunity of examining them more accurately than has been done by any other traveller The origin of the monasteries he fixes with seeming accuracy, either from written documents

or the verbal information of their inhabitants: that of Meteora was founded in 1371, by John Palæologus, one of the Imperial family who took the name of Joasaph: the monastery of Barlaam appears to have been founded in 1536, by Nectarius of Ioannina, and another Greek called Theophanes; that of Aia Triada in 1476. One of the monasteries in its original establishment, by Maria, the sister of John Palæologus, was intended for the reception of women alone; but this female population gradually declined, and was replaced by the other sex, till the institution became one entirely of monks. In this convent, however, as well as in that of Aios Stephanos, some women are still retained as a part of the household; but the entrance of any female is rigidly forbidden by the regulations of Meteora, Barlaam, and others of these establishments.

I do not find any absolute proof that the rocks of Meteora were known to the ancients by the same peculiarities of form which now distinguish them; and it is at least certain that the progress of time must have been making perpetual change in their appearances; yet there are several allusions in ancient authors which seem to have reference to a place of this character. Thus Homer, in the catalogue of the Second Book, after mentioning Trikka, which is the modern Trikala, a town only twelve miles further down the valley than Meteora, speaks in the same line of Ιθωμη κλωμακοεσσα*, an expression perfectly applicable to these rocks, and the more so, as they are the first cliffs which occur in the valley above Trikala. Strabo mentions Ithome as in the district of Metropolis†; and it being evident both from Cæsar and Livy, that Metropolis was near Gomphi, and one of the first towns in Thessaly, to those coming from Epirus, we

* Οἱ δ' ἐιχον Τρικκην, καὶ Ιθωμην κλωμακοεσσαν.

ILIAD, lib. ii. 236.

† Lib. ix. Strabo speaks of a temple of Minerva at Ithome; by which temple flows the river Curalius, before it enters the Peneus. There is a small stream near Kalabaka, which possibly may be the Curalius here referred to.

obtain a further proof that the locality of Meteora corresponds with that of the Ithome of Homer. In the same place Strabo describes Ithome as a place fortified by nature in its rocks and precipices*, and adds that it lies between the four towns of Trikka, Metropolis, Pelinnæum, and Gomphi, as in a quadrilateral figure. These several circumstances concur in rendering it probable that the rocks of Meteora were anciently known by this name, and that they possessed even at that remote period something of their present extraordinary character.

Livy, in his thirtieth book, describes an unsuccessful attack which Philip of Macedon made upon Argithea in Athamania, the local details of which description, in some respects, very strikingly correspond with the natural features of Meteora†. If we may suppose that Argithea and Metropolis were the same place, (and Livy elsewhere calls the former, the principal town of Athamania;) this description would add further to the proof, that Meteora is actually the Ithome of Homer and Strabo. Eustathius, in his commentary on the line of Homer already quoted, gives a description of the supposed Ithome, which resembles in every circumstance the modern character of Meteora‡. The origin of the modern name, signifying what is lofty and elevated, may easily be understood. I should have more hesitation in stating the conjecture, that Gomphi may possibly have derived its name from γομφος, *clavus*, in allusion to the pillar-like form of some of the rocks of Ithome, which, in the relative situation of the two places, must have been striking objects from the former.

The natural history of the Meteora rocks is as interesting to the mineralogist, as their picturesque scenery to the eye of the painter. They are

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* Χωριον ερυμνον και τῳ ὀντι κλωμακοεν. Lib. ix.

† Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. 2.

‡ Τοποι ἤ λοφοι κατα τȣς παλαιȣς ὑψηλοι· τραχειαι δε αυται και πετρωδεις αναβασεις εἰσι, κατακλωσαι τȣς δι' αυτων βαινοντας· φυλατΊεται δε ἡ λεξις εις ετι και νυν, εἰ και μη ἀκραιφνευς, αλλ' ὑποβαρβαρος, περι πȣ τȣς Παφλαγονας· οι κρωμακωτȣς τοπȣς, τȣς πετρωδεις, και οὐ ῥαον αναβαινομενȣς φασι. Eustath. Comm.

composed entirely of a conlgomerate, the included fragments of which are for the most part of small size, and appear to belong almost exclusively to the class of primitive rocks. On examination, I found among these fragments, granite, both with red and white felspar, gneiss, mica slate, chlorite slate, sienite, greenstone, quartz pebbles, &c. most of these stones shewing the appearance of their having been water-worn, or otherwise subjected to attrition. The basis of the conglomerate seems to be merely the same fragments in a more comminuted state; the rock, in its general mass, presenting to the eye a dark iron-grey shade of colour. In some of the perpendicular cliffs, the stratification of the conglomerate is very distinctly and beautifully seen in their horizontal layers; the best specimen of which stratification is probably that in the great precipice behind Kalabaka. Another curious appearance of this rock occurs in the immediate vicinity of the town, (which itself stands upon the conglomerate formation,) and elsewhere along the foot of the cliffs; the conglomerate rising above the surface in a series of low rounded eminences, some of them so perfectly regular in their form, that they seem like the segments of great spheres, the masses of which are concealed below ground. The singularity of this appearance is increased by the eminences being entirely destitute of vegetation, and by the striking contrast their outline offers to the abrupt pinnacles which rise immediately above them. It is possible that at some former time they may have been the basis of similar masses of rock, which have been worn away in the progress of intervening ages. . . .

The summit peak of the rock behind Kalabaka, which I have already mentioned as the highest point of Meteora, is apparently composed of some other material than the conglomerate just described; a circumstance which its position and form render obvious to the eye, even without the possibility of approach to this insulated pinnacle. Examining its appearances as minutely as was possible in so distant a view, I was led to think it probable that it might be one of the trap-rocks; a surmise which, if well founded, would afford some interesting views on the subject; but which is obviously doubt-

ful from the circumstances under which it was made. I did not observe any similar appearance among the other rocks of Meteora; but it is possible that other vestiges of this formation may occur, which escaped my notice.

Upon the origin of the conglomerate which forms the basis of the Meteora rocks, I do not venture to speculate with any certainty. The formation appears to be very limited in extent, at least in its connection with the valley of the Salympria, as I did not observe any vestiges of it either above or below the situation of Kalabaka. It is not improbable, however, that it may extend further back into the country to the north of the river; and I regret that I had not time to deviate from our route in this direction, as it might possibly have enabled me to ascertain its relation to the limestone, which forms for the most part the immediate boundary of the valley. Whether the conglomerate was formed by a deposit of primitive fragments brought down from the higher mountain-chains, or, according to the more recent opinion of some mineralogists respecting this class of rocks, was itself actually a chemical precipitate from some fluid menstruum, I cannot pretend to determine, and shall simply observe that I consider the former opinion the more probable one. The extreme regularity of stratification certainly leads to the inference, that the formation took place below the waters of the sea; but in pursuing this subject, we should be conducted to inquiries which are still the source of much difference and perplexity to geologists. Fancy might seek to trace some connection between the appearances at Meteora, and the ancient tradition that the sea once covered all the plains of Thessaly; but the basis of such theory is too obscure to allow much confidence in its speculations.

The nature of the conglomerate of Meteora, a substance extremely liable to *detritus* and decay, affords some explanation of the peculiar character of the rocks at this place; yet it is difficult to conceive how, without the agency of earthquakes, or other convulsions of nature, they should have taken forms so singularly abrupt and precipitous. However this may have been, it is certain that the work of decom-

position is still going on. The rocks of Ithome, though perhaps the same in situation, could not have been the same in outline as those now present to the eye of the traveller: many of the religious edifices on their summits have now disappeared; others are rapidly sinking into decay: and some centuries hence the monasteries of Meteora may exist but as a name and tradition of past times.

Our excursion to the Meteora rocks being finished, we returned to Kalabaka, but did not remain there longer than was necessary to prepare for our journey to Trikala, twelve miles further down the valley. We now observed with more attention the view in front of Kalabaka, which hitherto we had only imperfectly seen through the obscurity of an evening and a morning sky. Opposite this town, the valley, which thus far from the source of the river is irregularly formed by the advancing and retiring hills, expands at once into a wide and beautiful plain, perfectly level, and stretching to a vast extent in a south-easterly direction*. The view of this plain from the elevated ground about Kalabaka is very striking. Its boundary on the north side is a range of hills, comparatively of no great elevation: on the opposite side, the magnificent chain of Pindus is still the barrier; receding gradually however towards the south, and opposing to the plain a series of immense cliffs, while its summits appear at intervals in the back ground of the landscape. That part of the plain which is immediately in front of Meteora is richly wooded, chiefly with mulberry trees; but farther off the trees are much less numerous, and appear only in single clusters on the surface. The fertility of this vast district is obvious at the first glance; and it is seen at once why the ancient Thessaly should have been wealthy, populous, and capable of supporting great armies; and why its cavalry, in particular, should

* Livy mentions the "fauces angustæ quæ ab Athamania Thessaliam dirimunt." Lib. xxxii. c. 14. This passage may probably allude to the contraction in the valley of the Peneus near Kalabaka.

have been celebrated as the earliest and best which was employed in the warfare of Greece.

We now, too, looked back upon the front which the rocks of Meteora oppose to the plains below, and saw on this side a more regular outline, formed by a range of perpendicular cliffs, which extend from the lofty pinnacle above Kalabaka to the hills, forming the boundary of the valley of the Salympria. The height of these vast precipices, which are entirely composed of the conglomerate rock before described, gives them a magnificent effect. Two monasteries stand upon the summit of the ridge, not so completely insulated as those we had before seen, yet in a situation which might elsewhere be the subject of much astonishment to the traveller.

Trikala lies in a direction nearly south-east from Kalabaka. For the first two miles we passed through extensive groves of mulberry-trees, set in regular rows, and the intervening spaces chiefly occupied in the culture of maize. The trees are all pollards, and are cultivated for the food of the silk-worm, which is made an object of considerable attention in this district. The silk of Thessaly has obtained some celebrity for its quality, bearing an average price in the country of from thirty to forty piastres for the *oke*, a weight of 2¾ lbs. Of this article a considerable quantity is sent over Pindus to Ioannina; the remainder transmitted to Smyrna, to be again exported thence. The practice of keeping the mulberry as a dwarf tree for the feeding of silk-worms is very general in Turkey; a greater facility being thereby obtained of taking off the new shoots of each year. The trees are carefully hoed round, and occasionally watered to promote the vegetation.

Beyond the groves of mulberry-trees, the plain is very luxuriant in its produce of Indian corn, wheat, barley, and cotton; the cultivation of the last increasing as you advance nearer to Trikala: much of the land also is occupied as pasture-ground. The peasants were at this time employed in ploughing their fields; a people less stern in their aspect than the Albanians, but preserving still many similarities in their costume and manner. The ploughing is chiefly

performed by oxen, but in two or three instances we saw the buffalo thus employed, as well as in drawing the small cars, which are the only vehicles of the country. In the style of ploughing there was a good deal of neatness; though the form of the plough, which has doubtless descended to these peasants through many successive ages, might now admit of some change and improvement.

The city of Trikala, the Trikka of the ancients, is situated on the eastern side of a low ridge of hill, which extends into the plain from its northern boundary. Near the extremity of this ridge, and looking towards the Salympria, which flows at some distance to the south of the city, stand the ruins of the castle of Trikala; a building which was probably erected during the period of the Greek emperors, as there are no vestiges about it of a more remote antiquity. The city is of very considerable extent, containing more than two thousand houses, and ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. Like many other towns in Turkey, it seems as if situated in a wood, the lofty minarets of seven mosques rising up among the trees; besides which mosques there are ten Greek churches in the place, and two Jewish synagogues. The greater part of the inhabitants are Turks; some of them possessing property in the adjoining plains, others living as dependants upon the former.

The number of Greek families in the city amounts to six or seven hundred; and a bishop of the Greek church has his residence here, whose diocese extends over the upper part of the plains of Thessaly, and who is subject to the metropolitan see of Larissa. There are two small Seraglios in Trikala, one belonging to Mouctar, the other to Veli Pasha, decorated in the usual style of Turkish edifices. A Turkish governor resides in the city, under the appointment of Ali, as the Pasha of the city and district.

By the judicious management of our Tartar, we obtained a lodging with one of the principal Greek families of the city. The house of our host, Ioannes Erostonopoli, was well furnished in the style of the country; and he received us with much politeness of manner. According to the oriental custom, our beds were spread on the sofas of

the sitting-room; a usage very remote from the English feeling of comfort, but one which is common with the highest classes in Turkey. We had not been long settled in this habitation, when a Greek physician of Trikala came in with the profession of paying his respects to us. His name was Constantine Pacomio; a little man, apparently between fifty and sixty, with great civility of manner, still greater loquacity, and a considerable degree of information on subjects, which it may surprize the traveller to hear discussed in an inland town of Turkey. The quickness and vivacity of his questions did not allow him to be long ignorant, that I was of the same profession as himself; and he began with much eagerness a train of enquiries, which were continued for more than an hour, with little other remission than that necessary for making replies. He asked whether the system of Cullen or Brown had most preponderance in England; whether any changes had been made in the Brunonian doctrine; whether the Zoonomia of Darwin retained its reputation; who were our modern medical authors of celebrity; what discoveries had recently been made in the theory or practice of medicine; with numerous other questions of similar kind. Having in some degree satisfied this curiosity, not unnatural in a man educated at an Italian University, and now living in the seclusion of a place like Trikala, I took my turn in seeking from him some local information upon Thessaly and Albania. He was in general ready in his replies, and appeared to have much satisfaction in the novelty of this accidental intercourse, which he protracted by staying with us till a late hour.

The loquacity of Pacomio prevented our host, Erostonopoli, from taking an equal part in the conversation. He appeared, however, a well informed man; and I found in his house a tolerable collection of books; a few of them the antient Greek authors; but the greater number in the Romaic language. Among the latter, I noticed a translation of De la Caille's Treatise on Conic Sections, in two octavo volumes, which appears to be executed with care and accuracy.

In the course of the evening we walked through a part of the city, and ascended the hill above it, to examine the remains of the castle of Trikala. The most striking circumstance about this place, is the extraordinary view it commands of the great plains of Thessaly. The vale of the Salympria, which is apparently about ten miles wide, opposite the city, expands further down to a breadth of little less than twenty; while in a longitudinal direction, from west to east, or south-east, it is possible that the eye passes over fifty miles, of a perfectly level surface; for the most part either richly cultivated, or affording excellent pasture-land. Little wood appears in this vast landscape, though at intervals in its extent, the town or village is seen, with its houses irregularly scattered through a groupe of trees. There are scarcely any inclosures in the plain, the lands being divided chiefly by dykes. The greater part of this district is distributed among private proprietors, Greeks as well as Turks; though it seems, that among the former at least, the individual property is generally small; as we were told at Trikala, that the Greek proprietor, resident in that place, whose lands were of greatest extent, did not receive more than 2000 dollars of net annual rent. In a country, however, where the government is so despotic, it is difficult for a stranger to obtain information on these subjects, which may be relied on. We learnt from the physician Pacomio, that land is let in the plains of Trikala, on the condition of the tenant paying only a tenth part of the produce, either in kind or value, independently of the other tenth which is paid to the government; but this statement I should very much doubt, as in Albania the terms of rent are those of paying half the value of the produce; and it is unlikely that local differences should exist to this amount. It does not appear that any form of lease is regularly granted to the tenants of land in this district.

The culture of the cotton-plant is carried on to a great extent in the plains of Trikala; and the annual produce of the district is estimated at about 600,000 lbs. The cotton is grown upon a given

portion of land, only once in four years; so that to one proportion of cotton-land in the occupation of the cultivator, there are always three otherwise employed. The crop of 1812 had unfortunately been a very deficient one; but the average price of the Trikala cottons on the spot, is stated at about thirty *paras* per lb. Large flocks of sheep feed on these plains during the winter, among which I observed a considerable proportion of the black-woolled kind. The wool, which appears to be only of moderate fineness, is very importantly used in the manufacture of the coarse woollen cloths, blanketing, &c. which are so much employed in Albania, and other parts of the Grecian continent. This manufacture occupies a considerable number of the inhabitants of Trikala.

The Bazars of this city are somewhat picturesque in their appearance. At the height of ten or twelve feet above the pavement, a wooden trellis-work passes over the streets, along which vines weave their intricate branches, forming in summer a complete shade to the passengers below. The shops are clean, and tolerably well furnished; and the people in them, who are chiefly Greeks or Jews, respectable in their appearance.

At 7 o'clock in the morning of the 19th, Signore Pacomio again called at our lodging, and remained with us till our Tartar summoned us to resume our journey. The ancient city of Trikka derived celebrity from a temple of Esculapius, of great antiquity and magnificence*; and the genius of the place still seemed to be present with Pacomio, whose professional zeal continued to shew itself in numerous questions respecting the state of medicine in the western parts of Europe. He and our host partook with us in our breakfast of tea, but without evincing the genuine *goût* for this beverage, which in Turkey is used only in very small quantity, and this chiefly as a medical means to promote perspiration in slight febrile cases. Before we left Trikala, I was consulted by Erostonopoli upon the case of his wife, a young woman of tall and striking appearance,

* Strabo calls this temple, αρχαιοτατον και επιφανεστατον.

but whom I found labouring under symptoms decidedly phthisical in their character. I visited this lady in an apartment adjoining our own. Her dress was extremely rich; under the pelisse she wore a vest with deep gold lacings; the zone was fastened in front by two massive bosses of silver; various chains of gold coins hung from the neck, and on her head was a chaplet of pearls and gold coins. When I entered the apartment, she kissed my hand, and then touched her forehead with it; a ceremony which was repeated in the same way, when I rose to quit her. Two other patients were brought to me this morning by our host; and the physician Pacomio honoured me by a consultation upon his own case, before our departure from Trikala.

One of the many Lexicons, by which the Romaic has been associated with the other languages of Europe, was compiled by Koma, a native of Trikala; and published at Moscow in 1811. It comprizes the Russian, French, and modern Greek languages.

We were perplexed by the manners of our Tartar, while we stayed in the house of Erostonopoli. He entered into the room when he chose, and without any ceremony seated himself on the couches; drank coffee, smoked his pipe, treated all the Greeks who were present with contemptuous indifference, and shewed every moment, that if he was a servant, he was at least the servant of a lordly master. Though aware that it was unpleasant to our host, we were yet ignorant how far the usage of the country would entitle us to repress this seeming impertinence; and for the time we allowed the matter to pass without comment. In other respects we had much reason to be satisfied with the Tartar. We found him active in our service, taking an interest in our various objects of enquiry, and gifted with a vivacity and good temper, which often shewed themselves in traits of passing pleasantry. We were amused by his susceptibility to praise in his capacity as a Tartar, and by the various methods he took to obtain it from us. Both in this, and the remaining part of our journey, whenever he had succeeded in procuring us better lodgings, or better horses than usual, he came,

forward to obtain his tribute of applause, pointed out minutely their several merits, and often added in Romaic, and with a tone of sly confidence, — "But you don't think me a good Tartar: oh no, I am not a good Tartar." Much of this desire to obtain our commendation evidently arose from an anxiety that we should speak well of him to the Vizier; who, as he knew, had desired that we should make a report of his conduct, when he quitted our service. He had a great veneration, as well as the appearance of attachment, for his master; and the name of Ali Pasha in his mouth was the loftiest symbol of dignity and power. This man spoke with fluency the Turkish, Romaic, and Albanese languages. His figure and countenance were very striking; and connected with the Tartar habit, would have made him a fine subject for a picture.

Trikala is twelve hours journey from Larissa; but we did not proceed further on the 19th, than to Zarko, half way between the two cities, and in a direction nearly east from the former. Our route was still along the northern side of the great plain, having the Salympria to the south of us. The road, which, except in a few marshy situations, has derived little assistance from art, is nevertheless generally good, owing to the nature of the country over which it passes. Almost all the habitations in this district are collected into small towns or villages, which the modern Greeks still call by the ancient name of Choria; and the single cottage or small hamlet is very rarely to be seen. In our day's route we passed two or three of these villages, sheltered under the hills which form the northern boundary of the plain. The Salympria twice approaches the road in its windings; here a large and deep stream, but not exhibiting that clearness of current for which it was celebrated under its ancient name of Peneus; and little of that picturesque character in its banks, which is so remarkable in its course from Pindus to the plains. About twelve miles from Trikala, we came to the Khan of Plokovo, where we stopped to make a meal on water-melons and quinces. From the plain in the vicinity of this place, we enjoyed a noble view of Mount Olympus, which we now saw for the first

time since quitting the heights of Pindus: a vast and lofty groupe of mountains where the gods might well be supposed to hold their divan. From this point of view we observed several distinct summits, separated by great hollows of the mountain, so as to form a considerable extent of elevated heights; all of these which appeared above the level of the intervening hills covered at this time with the snows of winter. The general direction of Olympus from this point is nearly north-east. On the opposite side of the plain, we still saw the magnificent chain of Pindus receding towards the south, and forming in its course some lofty summits called Goura, situated, as I conjecture, near the source of the river Hellada, the Sperchius of antiquity.*

Near Plokovo we approached the front of the hills which form the northern boundary of the plain, and which rise by a gradual ascent towards the north. The rock here is a white compact limestone, like that of Albania. At the foot of one of these limestone hills, not far from the village of Chigoti, a large stream breaks out suddenly from under the cliffs, and flows into the Salympria, a phenomenon which is frequent in every part of Greece, and in other countries where limestone forms the prevailing feature. At Zarko, which is situated in a recess from the plains, among the same range of hills, the rock is likewise of limestone, but the houses and walls at this place are built in great measure of primitive slate rocks, chiefly gneiss and micaceous schistus; and numerous fragments of similar kind appear on the surface in this vicinity. There can be little doubt but that the hills further removed from the plain, and stretching in a direction towards Olympus, are composed of these primitive rocks; an opinion which receives some confirmation from the general character of their outline, corresponding with that common to the slate formation.†

* These summits probably belong to the Mount Tymphrestus mentioned by Strabo.

† On the northern side of the plain between Trikala and Zarko were probably situated the ancient towns of Pelinnæum and Pharycadon; the latter furthest to the east. Strabo mentions both these places as being on the northern side of the Peneus. On the extremity of the range of hill which contracts the valley opposite Zarko, are some inconsiderable ruins; but as I judge, from a distant view of them, of more modern date.

Zarko is a small place, containing about 500 people, who, as well as the inhabitants of all the neighbouring villages, are chiefly employed in the cultivation of cotton, and in tending their flocks of sheep. Our Tartar procured us a lodging in the house of the principal Greek of the town, a bearded and venerable old man, who received us with great hospitality. The change of the peasantry in this part of Thessaly from those in Albania is very distinctly marked. There is something much less ferocious in the aspect; and, in the manner, more of the civility and courtesy of life. Almost universally they salute you on the road with the phrase of Καλως οριζετε, and with the hand raised to the breast. The Albanese soldier or peasant, in passing, often allows the end of his long fusil to strike against you: the peasant of this country is careful not to incommode you on the way, and apologizes for any accidental inconvenience he may afford. The dress, too, is now materially changed. The red Albanian cap is seldom seen; but the men generally wear a coloured or white handkerchief, folded two or three times round the head; the children, a cotton cap, coloured in stripes. Coarse white cotton and woollen stuffs are the principal material, both of the male and female dresses. In the vicinity of Zarko, as well as of Trikala, I observed a great quantity of the *datura strammonium*. When at the latter place, I explained to the physician Pacomio the medical value of this plant in certain asthmatic cases; and he expressed his intention of employing it on the first occasion which might occur.

On the morning of the 20th, we continued our journey to Larissa, which is eighteen or twenty miles distant. Near Zarko the immediate valley of the river is contracted by a range of low hills of limestone, which traverse a part of the great plain. This contracted part of the valley is more rugged in its character, and chiefly occupied as pasture land. At Kutzuchuro, seven miles from Zarko, we crossed over to the south side of the Salympria in a large horse-boat. The river here is fifty or sixty yards in width, and apparently deep; but its banks are flat and uninteresting. A few miles beyond this place the character of the scenery is changed; and the Salympria,

quiting its contracted valley among these hills, enters another vast tract of level plain, connected, indeed, further to the south with that of Trikala, but seen from this point as a distinct surface of country; bounded to the north by the mountains which rise into the heights of Olympus; on its eastern side by Mount Ossa and the chain of hills which extend southwards to the ancient Pelion. The extent of this portion of the plain of Thessaly, from north to south, is not less than fifty miles; in the ancient division of the country, it was called by distinction Thessaliotis, or Thessaly Proper. Entering it on the western side, the Salympria flows through a narrow belt of wooded land; but the remainder of the plain is for the most part naked of trees. Its surface is not so uniformly level as that of the country surrounding Trikala; rising to the south of the river into successive ridges, which are not however sufficiently elevated to change the general character of the plain. Its whole extent gives to the eye an aspect of richness and cultivation, which accords well with the real character of the landscape.

A striking feature in this plain is the city of Larissa, situated on a gently rising ground on the south side of the Salympria, and giving magnificence to the distant view from the minarets of twenty-four mosques which ornament the place. Larissa, or Yeniseri as the Turks term it, was one of the most considerable and wealthy cities of ancient Thessaly, and at the present time is considered the capital of the province, and forms the residence of the provincial government. Our Tartar had gone forwards from Kutzuchuro to apprize Veli Pasha of our arrival in the neighbourhood; and about two miles from the city we met him returning to us, accompanied by a physician of the Pasha's, by two Zantiotes, likewise medical practitioners in Larissa, and by three or four soldiers. Signore Teriano, the physician, introduced himself to us; and with a profusion of civil phrases, spoken in all the range of Italian superlative, told us that he had been commissioned by the Vizier, Veli Pasha, to compliment our arrival, and to conduct us to the house of the Archbishop of Larissa, where accommodations had been ordered to be provided for us.

Under the escort of this gentleman and his companions we entered the city, and proceeded to the metropolitan palace, if such may be termed an old and irregular building, on an eminence overhanging the Peneus, without any other splendour than that of situation alone, and with an access singularly mean and forbidding. We found the interior of the building, however, much more comfortable than this exterior foreboded; and we were welcomed to his habitation by the Archbishop, in a manner so courteous and attentive, that we could not but augur well of our abode in the city of Larissa.

CHAP. XII.

RESIDENCE AT LARISSA. — THE ARCHBISHOP POLYCARP. — INTERVIEW WITH VELI PASHA. — HIS CHARACTER AND HISTORY. — EXCURSION OVER THE PLAINS TO TORNAVO. — MANUFACTURES OF TORNAVO. — DESCRIPTION OF LARISSA. — GENERAL CHARACTER OF TURKISH TOWNS. — TURKISH INHABITANTS OF LARISSA.

WE had not been long settled in the house of the Archbishop, before two other physicians came in to visit us, both Greeks, and one of them remarkable for the manly dignity of his figure and countenance. This was Ioannes Velara, a native of Ioannina, and a man well known in the community of the modern Greeks by his erudition and literary habits, who has been attached for several years to the medical service of Veli Pasha, successively in the Morea and in Thessaly. Our other visitor was Lucas Bia, one of the physicians of Ali Pasha, who had been sent by the Vizier to Larissa a few weeks before, to assist in giving medical advice upon his son's case. This young man, the brother of Athanasius Bia, was born at Lekli: his family distinguished themselves by their attachment to the fortunes of Ali, who, in consequence of this, sent him, when a boy, to receive a medical education at the universities of Italy and Germany. He remained twelve years abroad, dividing this period of time at Pavia, Vienna, and Leipsic; and had returned into Albania about a year before, to take his station as one of the physicians of the Vizier. Lucas is betrothed to the daughter of Psalida of Ioannina; and very frequently, while in that city, we had heard his future father-in-law speak of him in terms of commendation. We found him a young man of mild and prepossessing manners, formed rather upon the European model, than upon those of his native country, and with a seeming melancholy about him, which it was not unfair to attribute

to a comparison of his present life with that of the preceding twelve years. In our conversation with these two physicians, we soon discovered the superior and masculine understanding of Velara; all whose remarks bore a character of deep and habitual thought, and of extensive knowledge, rendered more impressive by a sort of stoical and contemptuous humour, which seemed the offspring of natural vivacity suppressed by circumstances, or of ambition disappointed by the events of life.

Through the medium of Velara and Lucas, we were enabled to carry on a conversation with the Archbishop, who did not himself speak any other languages than the Romaic and Albanese, with the intervention of a few phrases in broken Italian. His name is Polycarp. He is an Albanian by birth, and the only one of that people, as he assured us, who, in these modern times, has attained the metropolitan dignity. To this high situation in the Greek church, which he had yet occupied little more than a year, it is said that he was elevated by the favour of Ali Pasha. Previously to this time he had been Bishop of the district which includes the site of ancient Troy, (if indeed it be allowed to speak thus definitely of a much controverted matter;) and in giving us this information of his past life, he added, "that Achilles had gone from Thessaly to Troy; he on the other hand came from Troy to Thessaly." The archbishopric of Larissa is one of the most valuable situations in the Greek church. Nine bishoprics are included under the diocese, and its gross revenue was stated to me at 200,000 piastres, or about 9000*l.* per annum. I apprehend, however, that there may be exaggeration in this statement; and it is at least certain, that there is a large deduction from this revenue by the pecuniary extortions of the Turkish authorities: the Archbishop himself informed us that about 30,000 piastres per annum were required to satisfy the several demands of Ali Pasha, of the provincial government of Thessaly, and of the court of Constantinople. Though thus high in ecclesiastical dignity, our host had not yet reached his fortieth year; and but for the long black beard which flowed over his breast, his countenance might have been con-

sidered that of a young man. On his head he wore the small circular hat, common to the Greek clergy; while his full black robes gave dignity to a person naturally tall and well formed.

At an early hour of the morning after our arrival, the three physicians, Velara, Lucas, and Teriano, called at the Archbishop's; and at ten o'clock, Veli Pasha, who had just returned from the baths, sent a messenger to say that he was prepared to receive us. Accompanied by Lucas and Teriano, we immediately went to the Seraglio, a building greatly inferior in every respect to the palaces of Ioannina, but which we were told was merely a temporary residence; two months only having yet elapsed since Veli Pasha's arrival from the Morea, and his assumption of the government of Thessaly. When entering the area before this building, we met two young boys richly dressed, and followed by a train of soldiers and other attendants. These were the sons of Veli Pasha; the eldest, as the son of a Vizier, having the title of Mahomet Pasha; the second called Selim Bey. They stopped a moment to gaze upon us as we passed, and delayed the physicians to enquire from them who the strangers were. We ascended from the area into the gallery of the Seraglio, which was crowded with soldiers, black slaves, and people waiting to obtain an audience. The soldiers were chiefly Albanians, but not so ferocious in appearance as the guards who crowd the palaces of Ali Pasha.

We were conducted into the apartment of Veli, a room of inconsiderable size, and not more splendidly furnished than many we had seen in the houses of the principal Greeks. The Vizier was sitting on a divan at the upper extremity; on his head he wore a large blue turban cap, with bands of white linen folded round its lower border: his outer robe was of red colour, and richly furred round the edges: in his belt he carried a dagger, the broad hilt of which was covered with jewels. On the couch near him was seated a Turk, of stately and dignified exterior, whose name we afterwards learnt to be Achmet Bey, a man of wealth and authority, and betrothed to the daughter of Veli. The Vizier received us with a politeness or even refinement of manner, which are rarely to be found in any class of the

Turkish community. We presented a letter to him from his father, Ali Pasha, recommending us to his good offices, and expressing an earnest desire that he should avail himself of my medical services for his complaints. Having read this letter, which was written in the Romaic, he expressed in a courteous manner his satisfaction in seeing us at Larissa. He spoke of the pleasure he had always experienced in meeting individuals of the English nation, whom he ever considered as his friends, and mentioned the names of several travellers who visited Tripolitza, during his residence there as governor of the Morea. He then enquired when we had left England; by what route we had travelled; and what were the future plans of our journey; offering at the same time to afford every assistance to them. We afterwards conversed for some time on political subjects, and chiefly upon the campaign of the French in Russia, a subject which evidently much interested him, as it had done his father; and the more so from his having been personally engaged against the Russians on the Danube, little more than a year before. I put into his hands two or three of the French bulletins in the Romaic language, which I had brought with me from Zante, and these he desired to keep for further examination.

Coffee and pipes had been presented to us by the attendants soon after we entered the apartment. After conversing on indifferent subjects for half an hour, Veli Pasha alluded to his complaints, and expressed his wish to consult me upon them. He told me explicitly, and at the same time with some humour in his manner, that for several years there had been a difference of opinion among his physicians; that he wished me to hear separately their narratives, without entirely trusting to any one of them, and afterwards to give my own opinion upon his case, and the means to be pursued. All that I did not understand of this speech, which was protracted to considerable length, was translated to me by Teriano, who continued present, but standing during the whole time of our audience. Veli Pasha, however, speaks the Romaic with remarkable propriety and distinctiveness, and there was little which might not be followed even by an ear yet only partially tutored in the language.

Before quitting the apartment, he urged us to continue our stay at Larissa as long as possible, and offered the use of his carriage to assist us in surveying the neighbourhood of the city. His manner, throughout the whole of the interview, preserved the same tone of politeness. It was evident that he had formed it in part upon the European model, which his situation and temper had given him more frequent opportunities of studying, than are common among his countrymen. Occasionally, in his conversation, he mixed a broken Italian phrase with his purer Romaic; and this, with a propriety of manner, which conveyed the desire of obliging, without lessening the dignity that befitted his rank. In his smile there was something of gracefulness, which strangely contrasted with the loud and vehement laugh of Ali Pasha; and in all his movements a species of refinement, which would be striking, even though it did not so remarkably differ from the ordinary carriage of the Turkish grandee.

Veli Pasha is about thirty-eight years of age, with regular and handsome features, and an expression of countenance that accords well with the manner just described. His general character is indeed liable to the imputation of gross sensuality, but it is nevertheless not entirely at variance with these appearances. Though brought up amidst his father's wars, and in the view of his despotic government, he has acquired, and appears to have deserved, the reputation of humanity; and it was remarked that during his government of the Morea, the number of executions in that province was much smaller than at any preceding period. His repute as a military character is below that of Mouctar Pasha, but in political sagacity, and all other acquirements, he is considered to be greatly his superior. In the course of his political life, it would seem, as far as a judgment may be formed from appearances, that he has been in part detached from the career of his father, and has acknowledged more immediately the authority of the Porte. It is probable indeed that his appointment to the government of the Morea was obtained through the influence of Ali Pasha; but his continuance in this province depended on the will of the court of Constantinople; and his removal from it was accomplished by the

mandate of the Sultan. From the secret character of Ali's policy, it is difficult to ascertain what part he bore in these affairs; but it seems certain that Veli Pasha was anxious to maintain his situation in the Morea, and that he made efforts to attain this object, which in themselves became ultimately one of the causes of his removal. He continued about six years in this province. His government, as I have remarked, exhibited in some respects a great degree of mildness and refinement. Though much intrigue and conspiracy surrounded him, it is said that he never shed the blood of any but those condemned by the law: his manner towards the Greeks of the Morea was less harsh and forbidding than that of his predecessors; his reception of foreigners was courteous, and he encouraged many of the schemes of antiquarian research, which were set on foot in this part of Greece. But to maintain his interests with the Porte, he was obliged to transmit large sums of money to Constantinople: it is said that he annually sent thither more than six thousand purses, or 150,000*l*.,—a tribute greatly exceeding what had usually been paid by the province of the Morea, and the collection of which was attended with many circumstances of oppression to the people. The luxurious and sensual character of Veli, and the number of troops maintained in his pay, increased the expences of his court, and probably led to the adoption of many harsh measures for obtaining money. This system of extortion produced open murmurs and concealed intrigues. The Greeks of the Morea, quick and intelligent people, concerted their plans of opposition, maintained emissaries at Constantinople, and succeeded in bringing their complaints before the notice of the Sultan Mahmud. In the mean-time the Russian armies were menacing the interior provinces of the Turkish empire. Veli Pasha offered to conduct his troops to the banks of the Danube, and his services were accepted by the Porte. He led to the scene of warfare a body of fourteen or fifteen thousand men; and bore an active part, as it appears, in several of the actions which signalized the campaign of 1811, since but a small portion of this army returned with him

into the Morea the ensuing year*. The inhabitants of the province, availing themselves of his absence, and of the feebleness of his remaining force, ventured in several places an active opposition to his authority. These attempts, however, uncombined and unsupported by any foreign power, were not successful in producing a revolution, but the exasperated spirit of the Moriotes accomplished by intrigue what open force could not obtain; and their acquired influence at Constantinople, aided probably by a sense of the danger to which the Turkish authority was exposed in the province, procured a mandate for the removal of Veli Pasha. This change was effected in the summer of 1812. The government of Larissa, and the adjoining part of Thessaly, was at the same time conferred upon him; which new dignity, however, is probably little more than nominal in its nature. The real dominion of Thessaly was previously in the hands of Ali Pasha, and it cannot be doubted that all the effective power of the government continues in the same channel. The state of political relation between the father and son is not very accurately known, and I have more than once heard that there were private disagreements betwixt them, which deterred Veli Pasha from appearing at Ioannina. I did not myself observe any evidence of such disagreements, but nevertheless it is possible that they may actually exist.

In the course of his public life, Veli Pasha has acquired a large property in villages and lands; partly by the gift of his father, partly by his own purchase, and other modes of acquisition. It is rumoured that since he quitted the Morea, pecuniary charges to an enormous amount have been brought against him by the Porte; but I do not venture to say that this story has any certain foundation.

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* In a long article of the Moniteur of January 1813, pointedly directed against the family pretensions of Ali Pasha, who is accused of aiming at the dignity of Sultan, there is an invective against Veli Pasha, as having favoured, rather than opposed, the operations of the Russians in this campaign.

His political reputation has already been alluded to. During my stay in Greece, it was rumoured that he was likely to obtain the dignity of Capitan Pasha, or High Admiral of Turkey, one of the most elevated offices of the empire; but this report had probably no foundation in truth. Unless the Porte were assured of Veli's political separation from his father, it would be a dangerous measure to concede to him a situation of so much importance.

Veli Pasha has had two wives; one of them the daughter of Ibrahim Pasha of Berat; the other, I believe, a daughter of Ishmael Bey of Seres. By these marriages, there are several children of both sexes. Veli's Haram at Larissa is said to contain about sixty females, but this I learnt merely as a matter of current report; and I give it as such.

Veli Pasha is the only Turk of whom it can be said, that he has an understanding of the value of antiquarian knowledge, or any degree of taste for those models of art which Grecian research has disclosed. I may mention it as a curious fact, that in one of his journies from the Morea to Thessaly, he turned aside to visit the ruins at Athens. He pitched his tents without the city, that no umbrage might be given to the inhabitants, and desired them to consider him as *enas Milordos*, come to look at the curiosities of the place. He ascended the Acropolis; surveyed all that remains of antient Athens; conducted himself with much politeness towards the principal Greeks of the place; and this finished, quietly pursued his journey.

Quitting the Seraglio of Veli Pasha, we returned to the Archbishop's house, where dinner was served up to us at one o'clock. The Archbishop himself, and the physicians, Velara and Lucas, were at the table, which, as at Ioannina, was merely a large pewter-tray, placed upon a wooden tripod. The dishes were for the most part served up singly. A thin soup, boiled mutton, roasted fowls, baked mutton, fricasseed fowls, with chesnuts; a dish of mutton with celery; boiled rice, eaten together with another dish, curiously composed of stewed pears and stewed mutton; these dishes, followed by goats-milk cheese, and a dessert of grapes and olives, formed the

fashion and order of our archiepiscopal dinner at Larissa. Three or four bearded attendants, all of them functionaries in the church, were in waiting upon us, whose subservience to the exalted ecclesiastical dignity before them, was very strikingly marked in the high tone of authority on the one side, and the perfect submissiveness on the other. The impetuous spirit of the native Albanian was not entirely lost in the demeanor of the Greek Archbishop.

While smoking our pipes after dinner, the carriage of Veli Pasha, made after the German fashion, and drawn by six pye-bald horses, was driven up to the gates, and a soldier came to inform us that the Vizier had sent it, in compliance with his promise of the morning. We were solicitous that one of the two physicians should have accompanied us; but the pretence of business was easily intelligible, as a cloke to their dread of entering the carriage of their lordly master. We set out therefore alone; and expressing a desire to visit the country to the north of the city, were conveyed over the Peneus, to the great plain which extends in this direction, even to the foot of the Olympus chain. A Mussulman coachman sat on the box of the carriage; a Greek postillion drove the fore-horses. Except where impeded by ditches or morasses, which are numerous in this district, we proceeded with great rapidity, the horses being generally kept on a canter or gallop. It was one of the latest of the fine days which precede the rainy season and winter of this climate. Traversing thus rapidly the plains of ancient Thessaly, in the carriage of a Turkish Pasha, — Olympus before us; Ossa on the right hand, the Peneus winding through the plain, to seek the rocky defiles of Tempe; — there was an impression upon the mind from the character and combination of these objects, which may more easily be conceived than defined.

We extended our excursion to the vicinity of Tornavo, a large town about six miles to the north-west of Larissa, an entrance into which was at present interdicted to us from the suspicion of the plague existing in the place. This suspicion was afterwards shewn to be well founded. A Tartar travelling from Constantinople towards

the southern parts of Turkey, had been detained at Tornavo by illness, and died here. Several individuals of the house in which this happened, were soon afterwards seized by the symptoms of the plague, and shared the same fate. It was just at this time that we arrived at Larissa, where we found much anxiety prevailing, from the vicinity and connection of the two places. The disease extended itself to other families in Tornavo; but a great part of the inhabitants deserted the town, and from this or other causes, as I afterwards learnt, it would appear that its progress was suspended, before the calamity had spread itself far. The dreadful destruction which the plague committed at Constantinople during the year 1812, was at this period at its height. During our stay at Larissa, the Archbishop received a letter of some credit from that city, in which it was affirmed, that the deaths there, in the preceding three months, amounted to about 120,000; and that in the month of October, not fewer than 2000 on the average died every day. Some months after this time, I had the opportunity of seeing a written document, in which an estimate was given of the mortality at Constantinople and its environs, during the period from June 1812, to the following January. This document, which derived an appearance of accuracy from the minuteness of its details, stated the total number of deaths to exceed 300,000. There may be exaggeration in these estimates, but it is at least certain, that there are few recorded instances of greater calamity within the same time, and among the same amount of population.

The town of Tornavo, and the surrounding district, are the principal seat of a large manufacture of cotton stuffs; of which it is said, that between 20,000 and 30,000 pieces are annually manufactured, at the export price of from six to twelve piastres per piece. These stuffs are much employed for sailors' clothing and similar purposes; and there is a large export of them, not only to various parts of the Levant, but also to Malta, Leghorn, Trieste, and other ports of the Mediterranean. Tornavo, and the neighbouring towns, partake largely also in the manufacture of the fine-spun cottons; the raw material of which is procured from the plains

of Thessaly. The red dye given to them, according to the Greek method which will hereafter be noticed, is held in much estimation. A very large quantity of this cotton yarn is every year conveyed over the mountains into Albania, and much of it exported from the gulph of Arta to Italy and Germany. Many of the Greeks of Tornavo have acquired wealth and respectability from their engagements in this branch of commerce. Demetrius Alexandrides, a native of this place, now a physician in Vienna, has translated Goldsmith's History of Greece, and the Geography of the Arabian Abulfeda; and has also published a dictionary of the Turkish and Romaic languages.

We returned to Larissa, while there was yet sufficient day-light to enable us to survey a part of the city. The only striking feature in its situation is derived from the Salympria; here a broad and deep stream, which, approaching the city through a tract of wooded valley, flows underneath a convent of Dervishes, two large Turkish mosques, and several groupes of lofty buildings; and, passing the sombre enclosure of a Turkish burying-ground, again disappears among the woods. The extent and population of Larissa are very considerable; and the estimate I received of 4000 houses, and 20,000 inhabitants, is probably not beyond the truth. The internal appearance of the city is mean and irregular; the streets are ill-built, narrow, and dirty; and in the houses and inhabitants alike, there is a general indication of wretchedness. The Bazars, which form as usual the central part of the town, are indifferently supplied with manufactured goods. In walking through the streets in the suburbs of the city, I was surprized by observing the large amount of negro population, which was much greater than I have remarked in any other Turkish town. Many of these outer streets, from their situation, are exposed to the river floods of the Salympria, and about a year before our visit to Larissa, some hundred cottages are said to have been destroyed by this cause, the ruins of which were in many places still visible. The habitations in this quarter of the city are for the most part constructed of stones, wood, and clay, rudely compacted together.

Of the population of Larissa it is probable that three-fourths are entirely Turkish; the number of Greek and Jewish inhabitants conjointly not exceeding a thousand families. A certain proportion of the Turkish residents possess lands in the surrounding country, and derive their revenue from this source; but the greater number are dependants on these landed proprietors, and live that life of unvarying indolence which is the habitual characteristic of the nation. This system of indolent dependence could not equally exist in a community where the habits and inventions of luxury and of civilization were more entirely formed; but the Turk (and perhaps it is true of other Oriental nations), while education and custom render him averse to all regular activity of life, and while he sleeps away much of his existence in listless apathy, is nevertheless singularly temperate in many of his habits; and if he creates little by his productive labour, it must be owned that it is but little he consumes. His diet is simple and moderate; the pipe, the baths, and the drinking of coffee are his principal luxuries as well as occupations; his garments, though costly, seldom require renewal; and general respectability in the scale of society is maintained with much less personal expence than in the communities of civilized Europe. It may be fair to add, that this mutual patronage and dependence among Turks of different classes is probably influenced in part by motives connected with their religion; and the effect, though one but of partial and mistaken benevolence, is not entirely to be removed from the rank of a national virtue. In its consequences, however, it is evidently injurious to the character and welfare of the community; to be aware of which, it is only necessary to contrast the exterior appearances of those towns where the lower class of population is Mussulmen, with others where the corresponding class is composed of Greek and Jewish inhabitants. Though the relative situation of the two people be that of masters and slaves, yet it will be found that all the outer signs of degradation belong in greater degree to the condition of the former. The Greek town presents in general the aspect of industrious and useful life; and unless when borne down by some of those circumstances of local

oppression which are so common in the irregular government of Turkey, the population have an appearance of comfort in their dwellings, clothing, and in the various habits of life not much inferior to that of other nations in the south of Europe.

In the towns chiefly inhabited by Turks, the most striking circumstance is the air of uniform indolence and unbroken monotony which pervades every part of the scene. As you walk along the street, few sounds of the human voice come upon the ear. Reclining in his gallery, or on cushions before his door, the Turk is seen to repose in a silence and grave stillness of demeanour, which might for the moment sanction even idleness with the name of dignity: his only movement that of raising or depressing his long pipe; his only conversation, if any there be, an occasional brief sentence, addressed in a low and deliberate tone to those who may be near him, and answered with the same formal apathy of manner. Or you may meet these people in their progress to the baths or the mosque, treading with a slow, stately, and measured step; scarcely deigning to notice the stranger as he passes them; and by demeanour alone drawing an involuntary homage of respect, which is little due to the intrinsic merits of the man. Elsewhere ignorance is generally noisy or feeble, — among the Turks it is disguised from outward observation by a gravity or even propriety of manner, which are not the artifice of individuals, but the national habit of the people.

This universal aspect of indolence, however, is the circumstance which least offends the eye in a Turkish town; and the matter it affords for speculation on the origin and variety of the national character, may reconcile it for a time to the mind of the observer. Its effects are more disagreeably seen in the appearances of neglect and decay which every-where present themselves; houses falling for want of repair; the habitations of the lower classes wretched and comfortless; filth accumulating in the streets without removal; and a general want of those circumstances which give order and propriety to social life. The stranger will be astonished, in a thousand instances, by the strangeness of the contrast between the exterior of the Turks and of

their habitations; and after following in the street a figure of dignified manner and splendid dress, will wonder to see him enter an abode where all is meanness and decay. This common character of the towns where the population is principally Turkish, shews itself strikingly in Larissa, in various forms of nuisance and deformity. An active population might speedily reform these evils; but the inertness of the Turks cannot be roused into action even by personal inconvenience; and time is allowed to work its progressive changes without check or counteraction from the hand of man.

The Turkish inhabitants of Larissa are charged by the Greeks with peculiar ferocity of disposition, and hostility to the Christian religion. In a geographical work of some merit, composed in the Romaic language*, they are characterized as Μισοχριστοι εις ακρο, και θηριωδεις: *haters of Christ to the highest degree, and brutal;* and the same ill repute I have frequently heard extended to them in conversation with the Greeks of the country. With some exaggeration, there probably is a certain degree of truth in this; the irregularity of the internal government in Turkey giving rise to local varieties, which would otherwise seem improbable from the uniformity of the Turkish character. I had myself the opportunity of observing in part the terror in which the Turks of Larissa are held by the Greek inhabitants of the place. The house of the Archbishop Polycarp resembled a prison, or a place of secret refuge; the gates conducting to it were always opened with a sort of suspicious anxiety, and an impression of alarm and distrust was ever visible among the inhabitants of this mansion. The Archbishop himself very rarely quits its precincts, influenced by the apprehension of insult if seen in the streets of the city. On the second day of our abode in his house, while sitting with him in his apartment, a Turk of surly and forbidding aspect, and evidently of the lower class, entered the room, seated himself unceremoniously on the sofa, filled his pipe, and took coffee from the attendants. The

* The Γεωγραφια Νεωτερικη.

Archbishop was obviously embarrassed, but made no comment. After a short interval, he took a coin from his purse, probably a zequin, and put it silently into the hand of the Turk, who immediately disappeared. Our Tartar, too, was equally intrusive here, as he had been at Trikala; entering the apartment at any time, smoking his pipe, and taking his part in conversation without restraint.

It is probable that the situation of the ancient Larissa nearly coincided with that of the modern city; and if this be the case, we may presume that the citadel mentioned by Livy * stood upon the eminence which overhangs the bridge of the Peneus. On this spot there now stands a large mosque, the portico of which is supported by columns belonging to more ancient edifices. They are disposed with true Turkish taste; some having the capital reversed and bearing the shaft of the column, others with the base where the capital should have been. In another part of the city we observed the remains of a statue of the finest marble, fixed as a corner-stone to the pavement, and other stones having the vestiges of Greek inscriptions, but none that were not illegible from time.

* Lib. xlii. c. 67.

CHAP. XIII.

GREEK METROPOLITAN CHURCH. — POLITICAL SENTIMENTS OF THE GREEKS. — CHARACTER AND ATTAINMENTS OF VELARA. — ANOTHER INTERVIEW WITH VELI PASHA. — REMARKS ON THE PLAINS ROUND LARISSA, AND ON THE POPULATION OF THESSALY.

ON the evening of our second day's residence at Larissa, the three physicians came to the Archbishop's, to comply with Veli Pasha's directions in giving me a detailed history of his complaints, and of the mode of treatment hitherto pursued. The narrative thus divided lasted nearly two hours; more than half this time was occupied by Signore Teriano, who made his statement with much pomp of elocution, great repetition, and a multitude of long words. The other two physicians were less elevated in their narratives, and explained accurately all that I wished to know. Our medical business concluded for the evening, Teriano departed, while Velara and Lucas remained to supper at the Archbishop's table. Our party was joined by a Greek priest: we had much conversation, and sat over our pipes till a late hour.

The following day being Sunday, we had the opportunity of witnessing the service of the Greek metropolitan church, the only place of Christian worship in Larissa. This edifice adjoins the house of the Archbishop, and is equally secluded by its situation from the public eye. The interior is dark and gloomy; exhibiting indeed much superficial decoration, but on a small scale, and without taste, or splendour of effect. The service began at eight in the morning, and by the care of the Archbishop we were provided with seats underneath the elevated pulpit in which he himself sat. His own figure was the most striking object in the church. He wore purple

robes, richly embroidered in front with gold lace; and over the square hat, common to the Greek clergy, was thrown a hood of black silk, which flowed down upon his shoulders. His manner was dignified and imposing; and when at intervals in the service he rose from his seat, and spreading his hands in benediction over the people, pronounced the simple and beautiful words, Ειρηνη πασι, *Peace be to all*, there was an effect of mingled solemnity and benevolence which might not easily be surpassed. The other parts of the service did not accord with this simplicity. In the Greek worship, yet more than in the Catholic, there is an accumulation of trifling details and exterior observances, on the general influence of which it would be needless here to speak, but which often offend the judgment by their frivolity, or by their connection with the superstitions of antecedent ages. The public worship of the saints, as they are represented in the tawdry paintings of the churches, employs at least as much religious zeal among the Greeks as among the Sicilians or Portuguese. When a Greek enters the church, he places himself opposite the altar, and makes the sign of the Greek cross three, or more frequently nine, times, bowing so as nearly to touch the ground with his hand at each repetition. He then advances towards the altar, crosses himself again before the pictures of our Saviour, and of particular saints; and presses his lips successively to these pictures as he proceeds. These and other similar ceremonies are frequently repeated in the course of the service; and in the church of Larissa become yet more numerous from the presence of the Archbishop, to whom each minister of the church approaches when about to perform his functions, bowing his head to receive a benediction, and kissing the hand which is extended to him.

The number of the ministers employed in the several parts of the service is very considerable; and there is a studied variety as well as splendour in the robes which they wear. Various offices in the church, and even certain of the readings, are performed by young boys, with the same obvious design of engaging the attention by the change of objects before the eye.

It must be owned, that in the variety and rapid succession of these ceremonies there is something well calculated to affect the feelings of the lower classes; and the principle of appeal to the senses once admitted, it becomes difficult to fix precise limits to its extension. The Greek church, deriving its character from an age when religion was alike subservient to the ignorance of bigotry, and to the selfish purposes of a corrupt and declining monarchy, has retained its pompous minuteness of ritual, even while labouring under the evils of Turkish oppression, and when no longer able to invest with the shew of grandeur the seeming puerilities of a superstitious worship.

The number of people present in the church of Larissa might probably exceed five hundred. The female part of the audience was situated in a gallery secluded from observation, as is usual in the Greek churches, by a close grating of wooden bars. At the close of the service, which continued nearly two hours, we returned with the Archbishop to his house, where he exhibited to us the robes which he wears in the church on days of festival. These were extremely splendid, or even gorgeous in their decorations; particularly the mitre, in which are set some beautiful rubies and sapphires, amidst a profusion of gold embroidery. The story of Adam and Eve, worked in gold lace with pearls on one of the robes, gave rise to one or two comments on this subject from the Archbishop, which a little surprized me.

In the course of this morning, as well as after dinner, the house of the Archbishop was filled with people; approaching him either as petitioners, or to obtain an adjustment of differences. On entering the apartment, each person knelt before him, kissed his hand, and frequently, after rising, repeated this ceremony a second time. The Archbishop's manner, in fulfilling this part of his pastoral office, was mild and ingratiating, without any loss of the dignity proper to his station.

Velara and Lucas both dined and supped with us to-day. The conversation of the former continued to exhibit the same mixture of intelligence and stoical humour, which struck me in our first interview

with him. Speaking of the state of modern Athens, I enquired whether we might still find there Academics, Stoics, and Peripatetics. "I know of neither Academics or Stoics," said Velara, "but every Greek of these times is a Peripatetic." Conversing on the character of the modern Greeks, he observed, "they are a people with whom self-interest has the first place, religion the second." Yet Velara, while complaining of the weakness and submissiveness of his countrymen, resembled the other Greeks we had met with, in his disposition to extol the genius of this people; and to complain of the neglect they experienced from the civilized communities of Europe. He characterized the present political sentiment of the Greeks, as dividing them into three classes; all seeking a change of condition, but seeking it in different ways. The insular and commercial Greeks, and those of the Morea, attached themselves to the idea of liberation through England; a second party, in which he included many of their literary men and continental merchants, looked to the then existing power of France, as a more probable means of deliverance; while the lower classes, and those most attached to their national religion, were anxious to receive the Russians as their liberators. This distinction as to the state of opinion in Greece is certainly well founded. Its discussion led us into a long argument upon the comparative merits of the ancient Greeks and the civilized nations of modern Europe; in the progress of which Velara shewed an accurate understanding of the ancient authors, and a powerful feeling of enthusiasm for the former glories of his country. The occasional reference from these topics to the present degradation of Greece, was made with a mixed tone of melancholy and satire, which illustrated the character of the man, and did not ill accord with the nature of the subject.

In the course of this and other conversations, I found Velara a man of various learning, and well instructed both in physical and metaphysical science. He has the repute, and I believe deservedly, of being the first botanist in Greece. His knowledge of the progress of chemistry, I found to extend to as late a period as the discovery

of the metallic bases of the alkalies; on which subject, and on others connected with chemical science, he was solicitous in asking questions, and ingenious in the remarks with which he accompanied them. It appeared that he had thought much on the various topics of metaphysics and morals, and his conversation on those subjects bore the same tone of satirical scepticism, which was apparent as the general feature of his opinions. We spoke of the questions of materialism and necessity; on both which points, after some remarks which shewed him intimate with the history and merits of these controversies, he declared an affirmative opinion. Velara's poetical talent is not inferior to his attainments in literature and science; and though I know of nothing which he has hitherto published, the merit of some manuscript pieces of Romaic poetry has procured him much reputation among his countrymen. A few specimens of his composition I procured from himself, or obtained at Ioannina and Tripolitza. Some of these are amatory, but conceived in an epigrammatic form; others satirical or humourous. I had an occasion of noticing his poetical facility, in giving him one or two passages of English poetry through the medium of the Italian; which a very few minutes sufficed to restore to us in Romaic verse. He expressed the same opinion respecting the poems of Christopulo, which we had before received from the Greeks of Ioannina, and spoke of them as an ornament to the modern literature of his country.

Connected with these endowments of knowledge and taste, there is in the character of Velara that stoical humour to which I have already alluded; occasionally passing into an air of loftiness and pride, which might better have been suited to the old times of Grecian liberty than to these of modern degradation. I am disposed to attribute to this temper of mind, a circumstance, which was surprising to me in a man thus acute and intelligent,—an assumption of indifference as to the condition and progress of other countries, and little expression of interest in the anecdotes which conversation suggested on these subjects. With the exception of certain questions upon the state of medicine and chemistry in England, Velara made

few enquiries, and seemed studiously to repress any movement of curiosity. The same feeling, though in a minor degree, I have observed in several other Greeks of literary character; and I cannot otherwise attribute it, than to that indefinite mixture of pride and shame with which they regard the fortunes of their country.

I venture to place before the reader these personal details, because I consider Ioannes Velara to be one of the best examples of the modern literary Greek; superior, indeed, to most of his countrymen in acquirements, and stronger perhaps in the colouring of his character; but nevertheless exhibiting well, all the more decided national features of this people. His reputation is very considerable, and on various occasions I have heard his name cited by Greeks, with a sentiment of pride, which may be pardoned in its origin, and justified in the real merits of the object.

Velara, as I have before mentioned, is a native of Ioannina, but Larissa itself has produced several Greeks, who have done honour to their country at the present period. Amongst the first of these, may be mentioned Constantine Kouma, who now occupies a situation as one of the principal masters in the Greek college at Smyrna. Kouma's most important work is one in eight volumes, on the mathematical and physical sciences, published at Vienna about seven years ago *. It contains dissertations on the several branches of mathematics, and separate treatises on astronomy, mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, chemistry, electricity, &c. which on examination appeared to me extremely well composed. Kouma has also translated Adet's work on chemistry. The Romaic translation of La Caille's work on Conic Sections was executed by Constantine Michael, a native of Larissa.

At 10 o'clock on the morning of the 23d, Veli Pasha again sent for us to the Seraglio. We found the adjoining areas crowded with soldiers and horses, covered with superb trappings; and observed

* Σειρας Στοιχειωδης των Μαθηματικων και Φυσικων Πραγματειων, εκ διαφορων συγγραφεων συλλεχθεισων, υπο Κ.Μ. Κεμα, Λαρισσαιυ.

a sort of throne, erected in the gallery of the Seraglio, which fronts the principal area. On enquiry, we learnt that the Firman of the Grand Signor, constituting Veli Pasha the Vizier of Thessaly, was to be brought into the city this day, and publicly read before the palace, with the accustomed forms. While we were with the Vizier, the procession set out amidst the shouts of soldiers, and the sounds of Turkish music, to meet the couriers who were bringing the Firman to the city. At one o'clock it was read aloud in the area of the palace; Veli Pasha sitting upon the throne in the gallery, and the ceremony being preceded and followed by the discharge of a few cannon.

When we arrived at the Seraglio this morning, Veli Pasha was still in his baths; and we sat some time with two of his principal ministers, Pashu Bey, and Achmet Bey, Turks of high rank, who have been long attached to his service. The latter of these I have already noticed, as present at the time of our first interview with Veli Pasha. The character of Pashu Bey was reported to us from various quarters, as that of an able but intriguing man, who had acquired much influence over the mind of Veli, and was about to strengthen his interest by marrying his daughter to one of the sons of the latter. This influence, it was rumoured, he had so applied as to provoke the anger of Ali Pasha; and the rumour, which at this moment I heard with little interest, was powerfully renewed to my memory, when the intelligence came to me at Zante some months afterwards, that a minister of Veli Pasha's had been assassinated within the very walls of his master's Seraglio. I did not learn the name of the person who thus perished; but if Pashu Bey, the anecdotes we heard of his political situation at Larissa, were probably well founded.

These Turkish ministers of Veli were sitting in an apartment, little inferior to that in which we had visited the Pasha. Coffee and pipes were handed to us by their attendants; and while smoking, Pashu Bey, who was more actively loquacious than is usual among Turks, asked numerous questions regarding the present state of England, its population, and naval and military power. This conversation led

him to exhibit to us a manuscript Turkish history of the Ottoman emperors, with illuminated portraits of each of these princes. This manuscript, the execution of which was certainly beautiful, was set before us with a pompous air of self-satisfaction, on the part of Pashu Bey, whose object seemed chiefly to be the exhibition of his own knowledge of Turkish history. He continued his anecdotes and comments upon these portraits till we were summoned to the apartment of the Vizier.

We found Veli Pasha smoking on his couch, and two of his sons sitting near him; the same young boys we had met in the area of the Seraglio two days before. The eldest, Mahomed Pasha, has an uncommonly fine and spirited countenance, and his future talent will probably not discredit the remarkable family to which he belongs. But the education of these boys is unfortunately limited by the customs and prejudices of their country; and riding, field sports, and smoking form, as it would seem, the chief occupation and accomplishments of their youth. Veli Pasha received us with the same politeness of demeanour as in our former interview, and conversed for some time on indifferent subjects with equal gracefulness of manner. His sons, who continued in the apartment during this time, did not speak, but listened and gazed upon us with much seeming intentness. After this I remained with the Pasha more than half an hour in consultation upon his complaints, of which I had before heard little from himself. Lucas and Teriano were both present, and the conversation was carried on partly by their aid, partly by my own understanding of Veli's broken Italian and purer Romaic. Provided with the history of his case, as well from his several physicians, as from himself, he expressed his desire that I would give my opinion in writing upon its nature and treatment, as I had previously done to Ali Pasha. This opinion I offered to give him immediately; but understanding that we wished to extend our journey northwards to Salonica, before proceeding towards Athens, Veli Pasha urged me strongly to return by way of Larissa, that I might again observe the progress of his complaints; and desired that I should delay com-

mitting my opinion to writing till the last time I might be with him. To this proposal I had nothing to object, and it was finally arranged that we should leave Larissa the following day, with a Tartar of Veli Pasha's, who would convey us to Salonica, and thence return with us to Larissa. Requesting the Pasha to give us letters to Yusuf Bey, the governor of Salonica, I observed a seeming hesitation on this subject, which was afterwards explained by the information, that Yusuf is the son of Ishmael Bey of Seres, a man of extensive local authority, but equally dreading and detesting the family of his more powerful neighbour, the Vizier of Albania. Nevertheless Veli Pasha gave us the letter desired, which, as the event proved, was of no avail in assisting our progress. His connection by marriage with the family of Ishmael Bey has already been noticed; but when the matrimonial alliances of Europe afford so little lasting security for the peace of nations, they cannot be expected to maintain harmony in a country where polygamy is licensed, and where local governments are so irregular and ill-defined.

Before I left the Seraglio, Pashu Bey consulted me upon his complaints, of which he gave me a long and formal narrative. It was evident that they were of little importance; but he would not be satisfied without some medicines being ordered for him, and I was obliged, to a certain extent, to comply with his desire.

The remainder of our stay at Larissa was pleasantly occupied in examining the environs of the city, and in a continuance of our intercourse with the physicians of the Pasha. Signore Teriano, who had been with Veli in his late campaign against the Russians, gave us some interesting anecdotes on this subject, chiefly illustrative of the inefficacy of the Turkish warfare in opposing the progress of disciplined armies. His description of the appearance of the Albanian soldiery in battle, was lively and accurate; their crowded and irregular masses, the manner in which they were incited to advance, by the bravery of individuals or detached bodies throwing themselves forwards upon the enemy; their successive impulses and

recessions; and the confusion and disorder of their final retreat from the field.

Lucas was to leave Larissa two days after our departure, to resume his attendance upon Ali Pasha at Ioannina. I availed myself of this occasion to fulfil my promise of writing to the Vizier, narrating to him the events of our journey, and enforcing some of the medical directions which I had already given him, while we remained in his capital.

Our residence at Larissa, and excursions in its vicinity, afforded the opportunity of many general observations on the character of this portion of modern Greece.

The plains surrounding Larissa have the same character of fertility which distinguishes the other parts of Thessaly. Indian corn, wheat, and tobacco, are abundantly grown in this district, and large flocks of sheep feed in the country which stretches towards the mountains on the northern boundary of the plain. As is the case in the upper parts of Thessaly, the habitations are generally collected into towns or villages, a circumstance which certainly lessens the facility of cultivation, but which may possibly be required for security in the present state of the country. The capabilities are great throughout the whole of this fine province; and it would not be easy to fix a limit to the amount and variety of produce which might be raised from its surface. A fine alluvial soil, the deposit of ages, is spread over the greater portion of these plains. Tradition accords with external appearances, in giving a testimony that they once were covered with water, and it is impossible to look down upon Thessaly from any of its mountain boundaries, without inclining strongly to this opinion. Excepting the passage through Tempe, the barrier is every-where perfect to this great tract of level country, and the fancy easily pictures it as a vast lake, stretching with a wide sweep from above Trikala, to the eastern boundary, on the side of Tempe. On this subject more will be said hereafter.

In their present state the plains of Thessaly form one of the most

productive districts of the Grecian peninsula, and their annual produce in grain of different kinds, cotton, silk, wool, rice, and tobacco, allows a very large amount of regular export from the province. The cultivation by the Thessalian peasants is not deficient in skill or neatness. The circumstances by which the amount of produce might be increased, are chiefly perhaps of a more general nature, — a better form of government; greater security to private property; a more uniform distribution of the inhabitants; and the prevention of those monopolies in the export of grain, which have hitherto been exercised by the Turkish rulers of the country.

It is almost equally difficult as in Albania, to estimate the modern population of Thessaly, and thereby to obtain a comparison with the ancient condition of this district. Independently of the cities of Larissa and Trikala, the villages on the plain are numerous and well peopled; and though it might perhaps be difficult now to count the five and fifty towns which are assigned by Pliny to the ancient Thessaly *, yet, reckoning these villages, the number would probably be very nearly obtained. It is true, indeed, that the population, at present, is confined to these towns or villages, and that the single cottage of the peasant is rarely seen in this district: there is reason, however, to believe that the case was nearly the same in former times. The Thessalians are described by various writers as a people peculiarly liable to anarchy and tumult; and Plutarch gives a strong expression to this repute, in saying, "that it is impossible to obtain repose in Thessaly, unless you are buried there." It may be supposed that the effect of internal factions and war, in lessening the security of property, would be equivalent to that of the tyranny which now oppresses the country; and its influence the same in preventing the distribution of the peasantry over the soil. Though I may believe, then, that the plains of Thessaly were more populous in ancient than in modern times, yet I do not imagine that the differ-

* Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. iv. cap. 8.

ence was of very great amount; and in admitting the statements which have come down to us of the force of the Thessalian armies, I should consider that this was principally an effect of the warlike and turbulent spirit of the people, which has just been noticed.

I know not that the modern population of Thessaly retains, in any remarkable degree, the features of the ancient inhabitants of this region. Their warlike spirit has unquestionably now subsided into all the tameness of slavery, except only in some districts, which will hereafter be mentioned, near Mount Pelion, and the gulph of Volo. It does not appear that the present race of Thessalians exhibit that fondness for splendid dress, for which their ancestors were distinguished; nor would it be easy, considering the proportion of Turkish population here, to satisfy this propensity, even if it did exist.

Thessaly derives importance not only from the raw produce of its plains, but likewise from the considerable cotton manufacture which has been spoken of at Tornavo, and which occupies the population of several other towns and villages. Under a better government, these manufactures would doubtless be capable of great extension.

CHAP. XIV.

DEPARTURE FROM LARISSA. — AMPHILOCHIA. — VALE OF TEMPE. — SHORES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO. — PLATOMANA. — MOUNT OLYMPUS. — KATRINA. — FIELD OF BATTLE AT PYDNA. — LEUTEROCHORI. — PASSAGE OVER THE GULPH TO SALONICA.

AT noon, on the 24th of November, we quitted the house of the Archbishop of Larissa, and commenced our journey towards the ancient Macedonia. Our Ioannina Tartar, Osmyn, having business to transact at Salonica, to the north of the gulph of Corinth, it was agreed that he should perform this expedition during our absence from Larissa, rejoining us at this place on our return from Salonica. The Tartar, Sulema, whom Veli Pasha appointed as our present guide, was a man of different appearance; more sumptuous in his apparel, but mild or even effeminate in his aspect, and much less active and imposing than his predecessor. We augured ill of him in the outset, from the wretchedness of the post-horses which he procured for us at Larissa; and this first impression was only in part redeemed by the quiet good-nature of the man in the after-progress of his service.

Our party, in leaving Larissa, was further increased by a Dervish travelling to Salonica, and by another Turk who was taking the same route. The Dervish belonged, as I believe, to the class of these *religieux* called the Bektashis: his dress was that most common among the Dervishes, — a long cloke made of coarse white woollen, and on his head a tall white cap, in form nearly resembling that worn by the Tartars. His beard was of remarkable length: though sanctified by his character, he wore pistols in his girdle, while over his shoulders was suspended a long leathern case containing a *mandolin*, which we afterwards found to be a most important part of his travelling equi-

page. Though his exterior had something of uncouth wildness, his manner was gay, good-humoured, and civil; he seemed to court an intercourse with us, and sought to beguile the way by the chaunting of Turkish songs, a species of music which more engaged the ear by loudness than by harmony.

Our first stage was to Amphilochia, a town situated near the western entrance of the defiles of Tempe, about twenty miles from Larissa. The Peneus, or Salympria, after long pursuing its tranquil course through the plains of Thessaly, appears at last as if arrested in its progress; and the eye, carried vaguely along the mountain range, which forms the eastern boundary of these plains, sees no opening through which the river may find its passage. From the loftier heights of Olympus, at the northern extremity of this boundary, descends a groupe of mountains which seems as if connected with the elevation of Ossa; while from this latter mountain other heights stretch towards the south, even as far as Pelion and the Pelasgic Gulph. A more accurate observation shews an opening in this boundary, in the interval between Olympus and Ossa; and through this defile, which is the celebrated Tempe, the Salympria pursues its dark and contracted course towards the sea. From Larissa to the entrance of the Tempe, the river flows in a north-east direction, and the great route to Macedonia seeks the same point, as the only exit on this side from the plains of Thessaly.

As we proceeded on our road, the views of Olympus and Ossa became each moment more interesting. The form of the latter mountain, now called Kissavo, as it is seen from this side, has some resemblance to that of Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh; its outline being conical, with the ascending sides somewhat concave, and a single summit. The height of Ossa I have no means of stating, except by surmise. From the distance at which I afterwards saw it, when at sea, I should conjecture that its elevation is little less than 4000 feet. Its relation in form and position to Olympus, as seen from this point, explains, to the eye at least, the old fable of the Giant's putting Ossa upon Pelion to war against Jupiter.

ASIATIC SOCIETY

H.Holland del.

C.Cooke sculp.

Mount Ossa, from the banks of the Peneus at Larissa

The hilly country along the skirts of the latter mountain was formerly inhabited by a tribe of Perrhæbii, seemingly allied in origin to those of the Pindus chain *. Two or three large towns are found in this district, of which the principal is Elasson, distant about eight hours journey from Larissa. It contains a population of 6000, partly Turkish, partly Greek, with several mosques and churches. This town stands on the site of Olooson, a place noted by several ancient writers for the property its soil had of giving a white colour, — an effect probably of some compound of clay and decomposed calcareous or magnesian rock.†

When advanced a few miles from Larissa, keeping the Salympria on our left hand, we arrived at an extensive morass which the road traverses by a paved causeway. This marsh was probably the Lake Neson of ancient Thessaly, mentioned by Strabo as one of his authorities for believing that this country was once covered with water, before the opening of Tempe had afforded an egress to the sea. In former times, as at present, it appears to have been flooded only when the Peneus, with which it had communication, was swelled by rains. Beyond this morass, the plain, which is here broken by low eminences, exhibits a surface covered with fragments, chiefly of primitive rock, gneiss, mica, slate, marble, quartz, chalcedony, &c. These fragments of primitive slate I imagine to be derived from the hills bordering the plain on its northern side, which hills are connected in one range with those behind Zarko, already mentioned as affording similar fragments. In a distant view of this range, which I afterwards obtained from Thomoko, on the southern boundary of the plains, I found farther reason to believe, from the general outline of the hills, that they are chiefly composed of primitive slate rocks. They do not appear to attain any great elevation, until rising towards their eastern extremity into the heights of Olympus.

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* Hom. Iliad. lib. ii. 749.

† Homer (Il. lib. ii. 739.) calls it Ολοοσσονα λευκην.

The sun had already set before we reached the opening of Tempe, and we saw obscurely through the shades of evening, the precipitous outline of cliffs and lofty eminences approaching each other, and gradually contracting the width of the valley. There is an extreme beauty in the scenery, which is thus intermediate between the expanded plains of Larissa and the rocky defile forming the interior of Tempe. It is wild, irregular, and abounding in precipitous forms, yet is divested of harshness by the luxuriance of foliage, and by the softness of the vallies and openings which intervene among these lofty eminences. The river pursues a tranquil course along the lower part of the valley, flowing underneath the spreading shade of plane-trees, and here and there expanding to encircle with its stream some little islet covered with wood. Several villages and hamlets are seen in the most picturesque situations at this western entrance of Tempe, some of them inhabited by Greek, others by Turkish population. In ancient times, Gonnos, Elone, and other towns stood in this district; and here also the Eurotas, or Titaresius, entered the Peneus from the mountains under Olympus, a stream mentioned by Homer and other writers as remarkable for the oleaginous quality of its waters, which prevented their mingling immediately with those of the Peneus. I observed, through the dusk of the evening, what I imagine to be the valley of this stream, which however, I believe, has been little explored by the modern traveller.*

The small village and Khan of Baba are situated on the southern bank of the Salympria, where the river is about to enter its more contracted channel, formed by precipitous mountain-cliffs. The traveller,

* Homer, who calls it the Titaresius, (Il. lib. ii. 751.) after describing the immiscibility of its waters, adds,

Ορκος γαρ δεινος Στυγος υδατος εστιν απορρωξ.

See also Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 8. Seneca, in his "Naturales Questiones," speaks of the noxious quality of the oleaginous matter brought down by this river. Is it not probably naptha, or some bituminous substance which is here described?

with whom time is a stronger motive than curiosity, may either pass the night here, or pursue his way forward through the straits of Tempe. Those who are solicitous to survey the various features in the population of the country, will do well to deviate from the direct route in ascending to the town of Amphilochia, placed in a most extraordinary situation on the face of the mountain, which here forms the southern boundary of the valley. This mountain, connected in the same line with the cliffs of Tempe, may be considered as part of that groupe of which the cone of Ossa is the central and loftiest part. It presents a steep and broken front, elevated into ridges, or receding in deep hollows and ravines. The town stands on this irregular ascent, its lower part being more than 600 feet above the level of the river beneath. The number of houses is said not to exceed five or six hundred, but these, even more than is usual in the towns of this country, are dispersed over a wide extent of surface; and, in insulated situations, surrounded by trees, or separated by ravines, extend far upwards on the acclivity of the mountain. An irregular cork-screw road, in some places cut in the rock; in others carried along the channel of mountain-torrents, conducts the ascent of the traveller from Baba to Amphilochia. Entirely benighted before we reached the former place, there was extreme difficulty and some danger in accomplishing this ascent. Notwithstanding the light of torches which some peasants carried before us, we twice lost our way among the deep hollows which intersect the hill, and were each moment apprehensive of falling over the cliffs which border on the road. This misfortune actually occurred to one of the luggage-horses, and our guides found it necessary to leave the poor animal to his fate, after they had succeeded, with great difficulty, in taking off his load. We did not reach Amphilochia till a late hour, and were prevented by this cause from seeking admittance into the Greek house to which we were recommended. Our night's lodging was taken up in a miserable building, which afforded us nothing but bare walls and straw mats, with a scanty allowance of fire-wood. The approach of winter,

and the elevated site of Amphilochia, rendered the last article one of necessity.

The morning of the 25th was wet and gloomy, but at intervals, through the clouds which enveloped us, we saw the remarkable character of the town. Nothing can be more picturesque than the various groupes of buildings which compose it. Rising from out thick foliage of woods, or overhanging the deep ravines of the mountain, their open galleries and projecting roofs render the effect of situation still more singular and imposing to the eye. The oak, olive, cypress, &c. are spread over the broken surface on which the town stands, and intermixed with the foliage of vineyards, while the loftier ridges of the mountain, receding towards the south, are covered with long rows of pines. A few of the houses are built and furnished in the European manner.

Amphilochia is interesting in its population as well as in the scenery which surrounds it. It inhabitants are almost exclusively Greeks, and what may seem singular in a place thus situated, have been noted for some years past for the extent of their commercial undertakings, and for a character of active intelligence and enterprize which has procured them a high repute among the communities of modern Greece. Most of the merchants of Amphilochia have visited or resided in the great commercial cities of the continent, and established connections there, the extent and success of which are testified in the wealth many of them have acquired. These connections are chiefly with Germany, but also with Constantinople, Smyrna, and other places of trade in the Levant. The commerce of the place has its basis in manufacture; and the population of the town, like that of Tornavo, and other places in the surrounding country, is actively engaged in the various processes of making and dyeing cotton thread, the staple commodity of the country. A great part of the cottons grown in the plains of Thessaly are brought to this district for the use of its manufacturers. It has been estimated that the town of Amphilochia furnishes annually about 3000 bales of dyed

cotton thread, each bale being calculated at 250 lbs. Of this quantity nearly the whole is transmitted by land carriage to Germany; a traffic which is well regulated, and carried on with much activity by the Amphilochian merchants.*

It may be added regarding the inhabitants of this town, that while thus reputed in their commercial character, they have acquired much respect from their general cultivation of mind; and from the aids they have afforded to the literature of their country. There is a considerable Greek school here, which is said to be in a flourishing state.

Though Amphilochia, if I am rightly informed, is a part of the private property of Ali Pasha, the Amphilochians enjoy a comparative exemption from the evils of slavery, while their countrymen at Larissa suffer under the perpetual oppressions of their Turkish masters. These local differences of condition are frequent in Turkey; and occur in general as an effect of its irregular government, and of the amount of authority conferred on, or assumed by the provincial rulers; which renders their personal character of much more importance to the welfare of the population, than where power depends upon laws, and emanates directly from one source. The mechanical adherence of the Turk to habits once formed, is another cause of this variety; and a third, of still more influence, is the different proportion their numbers bear to those of the Greeks in the several towns and districts of the empire. Of some places the

* The Greek method of giving what is called the Turkey Red is briefly the following:— The cottons are first exposed to three leys of soda, ashes, and lime, mixed in nearly equal quantities, then follows a soda bath, which is repeated three or four times, and from which the cottons come out perfectly bleached. The galling and aluming are next in succession employed; the latter process being generally repeated twice, with an interval of two days: a small quantity of soda is usually added to the aluminous solution. To give the dye, madder-root is employed, with a small proportion of sheep's blood, which is supposed to strengthen the colour. Finally, a bath alcalized with soda is used to perfect the dye, this ley being made to boil till the colour takes its proper tint: this is of course a delicate part of the process.

population is principally Mahommedan; of others, exclusively Christian, and this more entire separation of the two communities is by no means uncommon in the villages and small towns throughout Greece. In larger towns, the population is usually of a mixed character; and here, the relation of Turks and Greeks depends in part upon the numbers of each class; the more active and cultivated genius of this latter people giving them a facility in eluding or opposing the sluggish tyranny of the Turks, and this facility being increased by their numerical strength. Where the population is wholly Greek, there is a still further exemption from the direct evils of personal oppression; the indolence and uniformity of the Turkish character affording a local limitation to its effects, and counteracting in some degree the influence of power. This last circumstance is probably one of the causes of the condition of the Amphilochians, who, being amidst the heights of Mount Ossa, and forming in themselves an exclusive society of Greeks, preserve a greater degree of personal freedom than their countrymen in the plains below. Much more, however, in this instance may be attributed to the commercial character of the people; creating here, as elsewhere, those habits of independant activity, which are more successful than any other in opposing the efforts of a despotic rule. It may be remarked, too, that the merchants of this place, from their direct connection with continental houses, obtain in some degree a foreign protection to their industry, which is further sheltered by the advantage the Turkish proprietors themselves derive from it, in the ready disposal of their produce. Amphilochia, it is true, is situated within the power of Ali Pasha; but the oppressive vigilance of his despotism is lessened in this part of his territory; and the Amphilochian merchants are called upon to fewer sacrifices and less degradation than the commercial Greeks on the Albanian side of Pindus.

While awaiting in the gallery of our lodging some change in the state of the weather, one of the Greeks of Amphilochia came in to visit us. He was a merchant, and a man of respectable appearance; had travelled much in Germany, and spoke the continental

H.Holland del.

John Le Keux sculp.t

Tempe

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languages with fluency. He remained with us half an hour, and gave us some interesting information as to the state of the town and of the surrounding districts. The Greek is uniformly social in his habits, and the travelled Greek more especially seeks the intercourse of Europeans, with an eagerness proportionate to the change he has felt between the society of civilized communities, and the dull, unvarying round of Turkish existence.

Though it was a part of our projected day's journey to pass through the Vale of Tempe, yet we were compelled to set out under the obscurity of a small rain; consoling ourselves with the possibility that we might be more fortunate in returning towards Larissa. From the heights of Amphilochia we descended slowly into the valley, reaching the banks of the river, where it enters the deep ravine, which conducts it towards the sea. Looking generally at the narrowness and abruptness of this mountain-channel, and contrasting it with the course of the Peneus, through the plains of Thessaly, the imagination instantly recurs to the tradition, that these plains were once covered with water, for which some convulsions of nature had subsequently opened this narrow passage. The term *vale*, in our language, is usually employed to describe scenery, in which the predominant features are breadth, beauty, and repose. The reader has already perceived that the term is wholly inapplicable to the scenery at this spot; and that the phrase of *Vale of Tempe* is one that depends on poetic fiction, ignorantly selecting the materials of descriptive allusion, and conveying an innocent error to the imagination of the modern reader. The real character of Tempe, though it perhaps be less beautiful, yet possesses more of magnificence than is implied in the epithet given to it. The features of nature are often best described by comparison; and to those who have visited St. Vincent's Rocks below Bristol, I cannot convey a more sufficient idea of Tempe, than by saying that its scenery resembles, though on a much larger scale, that of the former place: The Peneus indeed, as it flows through the valley, is not greatly wider than the Avon; and the channel between the cliffs is equally contracted in its

dimensions; but these cliffs themselves are much loftier and more precipitous; and project their vast masses of rock with still more extraordinary abruptness over the hollow beneath.

The length of this remarkable gulph* from west to east is nearly five miles; its direction in this distance varying but little from a straight line. Its breadth is varied by the projection or recession of the cliffs; but there are places in which the bed of the river occupies the whole space between the rocks; and where the interval from the base of one cliff to that on the other side cannot exceed 200 feet, and possibly may be still less†. In these places, and indeed throughout a great part of the extent of Tempe, the road is carried over and along the ledges of the cliffs; sometimes seeming to overhang the river; then receding to seek a passage across the ravines which descend from the mountain. Livy well describes this singular route, — "Rupes utrinque ita abscissæ sunt, ut despici vix sine vertigine quadam simul oculorum animique possit. Terret et sonitus et altitudo per mediam vallem fluentis Penei amnis."

Of the height of the cliffs of Tempe, I cannot speak otherwise than from surmise. Those on the north side, about the middle of the pass, are undoubtedly the highest; and here they appear to rise from six to eight hundred feet above the level of the river; passing more gradually afterwards into the mountain-heights to the south of Olympus, of which they may be considered to form the base. Towards the lower part of Tempe, these cliffs are peaked in a very singular manner, and form projecting angles on the vast perpendicular faces of rock, which they present towards the chasm. Where the surface renders it possible, the summits and ledges of the rocks are for the most part covered with small wood, chiefly oak, with the arbutus and other shrubs. On the banks of the river, wherever there

* Ælian speaks of the gulph of Tempe, as being 40 stadia; Livy and Quintus Curtius both state it to be about five miles.

† Ælian states the breadth in some places not to exceed a *plethrum*, or about 100 feet. Var. Hist. lib. iii. 1.

is a small interval between the water and the cliffs, it is covered by the rich and widely-spreading foliage of the plane, the oak, and other forest trees, which in these situations have attained a remarkable size, and in various places extend their shade far over the channel of the stream. The ivy winding round many of them may bring to the mind of the traveller the beautiful and accurate description of Ælian, who has done more justice to the scenery of Tempe than any other writer of antiquity.

The Peneus, thus secluded alike by the vast cliffs which overhang the valley, and by the trees bordering on its waters, pursues its course through Tempe, a full and rapid stream, little interrupted in its progress, though flowing between rocks so rude and precipitous in their forms. Ovid's description of it, in his story of Io, is well known: —

——— "Spumosis volvitur undis,
Dejectuque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducit, summasque asperginè silvas
Impluit, et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat." *

At the time I was in Tempe, though the river had been somewhat swelled by rains, there was little of this impetuous violence, but a deep and steady current, capable (as was the case also in former times) of being safely navigated throughout the whole extent of the defile. At this period of wintry floods, the water of the river did not shew that clearness for which the Peneus was celebrated by the ancients †, but the streams descending to it from ravines of the

* Ovid. Metam. lib. i. 578. — See also the story of Daphne and Apollo; the scene of which is laid in Tempe. Homer gives the epithet of αργυροδινη to the Peneus, as it flows through Tempe. Iliad. lib. ii. 753.

† Pliny (lib. iv. cap. 8.), in speaking of the rivers of Thessaly, says, "ante cunctos claritate Peneus."

Εστι και πολλοις τιμη, η κατ' ωφελειαν, ωσπερ Αιγυπτιοις πορος τον Νειλον, η καλα καλλος, ως Θεσσαλοις πορος Πηνειον. Max. Tyr. Dissert. viii. p. 81. This perhaps relates, however, to the scenery on the banks of the river.

mountains, or breaking out suddenly from natural basins in the rock, had a purity which might well suggest the metaphor of nymphs presiding over their waters.

About the middle of the pass on its southern side, and to the right of the road, are some high ruined walls, composed in part of Roman bricks; and on a cliff which impends over this spot, stand the remains of an ancient castle, one of those fortresses by which art assisted nature in defending this important passage *. Just below these ruins a stream enters the Peneus from the heights of Ossa, the scenery near the junction of which is very extraordinary; a vast semicircular basin being formed by the cliffs surrounding it, which are everywhere perpendicular as walls, and of great height. Looking upwards among the mountain-precipices on this side, it is difficult to conceive the possibility of that march, by which Alexander conveyed his army from Macedonia into Thessaly, skirting along the acclivities of Ossa to avoid the impediments which the Thessalians opposed to his passage through Tempe †. At the time of the Persian invasion, the Greeks sent a body of 10,000 men, under Evænetes and Themistocles, to defend this entrance into Thessaly; but on the suggestion that another route was open to Xerxes, over the mountains adjoining Olympus, these generals quitted the post, and retired southwards. Had they remained here, it is not impossible that Tempe might have been another Thermopylæ in the page of history.

The rocks on each side the Vale of Tempe are evidently the same; what may be called, I believe, a coarse blueish grey marble, with veins and portions of the rock, in which the marble is of finer quality. The front of the cliffs has a general aspect to which the term *shattered* might best be applied; long fissures, both horizontal and perpendicular, traversing the rock, so as to give it frequently the appearance of being broken into detached masses. In many places

* It is probably this castle which Livy describes, as "viæ ipsi, qua et media et angustissima vallis est, impositum, quam vel decem armatis tueri facile est."

† See Quint. Curt. lib. i.

large hollows and caves have been formed; and here the surface is generally much tinged with the oxide of iron. Though it would be too much to affirm from the character of the cliffs of Tempe, that there is proof of this defile having been formed by a sudden and violent natural convulsion, yet their general appearances, as I have already remarked, might certainly warrant some belief in the traditionary record of this event, which we have from so many ancient writers. Herodotus, in relating the excursion of Xerxes to survey the pass of Tempe, notices the belief common among the Thessalians, that Neptune had opened this passage to carry off the waters from their country, and states his own opinion that the separation of the mountains had been effected by an earthquake*. It is certainly not impossible that the latter surmise may be well founded. The nature of the tradition points at the event as occurring suddenly; and though we can scarcely suppose that the whole depth of the defile was thus opened, it may be conceived not unlikely that the convulsion of an earthquake had the effect of deepening the channel, and thereby of carrying the waters from off the plain.

The memory of the event, however accomplished, was preserved by an annual festival of the ancient towns and villages at the western entrance of Tempe, of which we have an interesting description by Ælian. The fine allusion of Lucan to this subject is well known to the classical reader.†

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* Lib. vii. cap. 129. In the same spirit of splendid folly, which led to the undertaking at Athos, it occurred to Xerxes, standing at the entrance of Tempe, that if the Thessalians opposed his progress, their country might again be flooded and destroyed by an artificial mound thrown across the defile, so as to prevent the passage of the Peneus towards the sea. The submission of the Thessalians happily prevented this royal outrage upon humanity.

Eustathius, in his Commentary on the 17th Iliad, mentions the clearance of the waters from the plain of Thessaly by the opening of Tempe.

† Flumina dum campi retinent, nec pervia Tempe
Dant aditus pelago, stagnumque implentibus undis
Crescere cursus erat; postquam discessit Olympo
Herculea gravis Ossa manu, subitæque ruinam
Sensit aquæ Nireus, &c.

We were extremely unfortunate in the day which conducted us through the scenery of Tempe. The rain of the morning had ceased, but the clouds still hung heavily upon the mountains, and here and there descended below the summit of the cliffs which bound the valley. The foliage too, though yet exhibiting its autumnal tints, had now lost in part that richness and profusion which belong to a less advanced time of the year, and the approach of winter shewed itself in all the features of the landscape. While our cavalcade was slowly proceeding down the defile, the Dervish who travelled with us, entertained the party by his vociferous Turkish songs, which, in various parts of the pass, were echoed back with singular distinctness from the opposing cliffs. The retrospective view of Tempe from its eastern extremity is very striking, and scarcely less so the landscape in front, offering to the eye a sudden change from this contracted mountain scenery to a wide surface of plain, richly wooded, luxuriant in its cultivation, and terminated in front by the sea of the Archipelago, upon which we now looked for the first time. Had the weather been clear, the peninsula of Mount Athos might have been seen from this point; but at this time we could not even discern the district of the ancient Pallene, which lay immediately opposite to us, forming the eastern boundary of the gulph of Salonica.

Leaving the defiles of Tempe, and descending upon the plain, we passed to the north side of the river by a horse-ferry, — an unworthy substitute for a bridge, half a mile below, which two years since was broken down by a winter's flood*. The limits of the ancient Macedonia were not very accurately defined either on its Thessalian or Illyrian frontier; but below Tempe, it seems to have been generally considered that the Peneus formed the boundary to its junction with the sea; and in crossing therefore at this ferry, we quitted Thessaly, and entered upon a new region †. The banks of the river here are

* When at Athens, I learnt that it was proposed to rebuild this bridge more nearly within the entrance of Tempe, and that Baron Haller was to be intrusted with the design and superintendance of the work.

† Cæsar, however, speaks of the Haliacmon as dividing Macedonia from Thessaly.

finely wooded; and there is much picturesque beauty in the opening out of the valley; though perhaps on the whole, this approach to Tempe is less remarkable in its scenery than that at the western end of the pass. A mile or two beyond the ferry, we quitted the direct road to the coast, and proceeded northwards to a small town called Pyrgetos, situated on the declivity of that mountainous tract which extends and rises in this direction, towards the central heights of Olympus; and in a westerly direction passes into the cliffs which form the northern boundary of Tempe. At this place we halted for the night, but had some difficulty in procuring a lodging; our present Tartar, Sulema, shewing a temper too mild and easy to be the servant of such a system as now prevails in Turkey. In entering Pyrgetos, we observed four or five small stills at work by the side of the road; the material of distillation being the raisins of the country, the spirit from which is used, to a considerable extent, in every part of Greece. The interior of the town derived a singular aspect from the galleries and area of every habitation being filled with the ears of Indian corn, hung upon lines for the purpose of drying them. The produce of this grain is very large in the neighbourhood of Pyrgetos.

The foggy state of the weather concealed from us even the outline of the mountains to the north and north-west of this place,—a circumstance I regretted; since it was probably by a route over these mountains that the Roman army, under Q. M. Philippus, penetrated into Macedonia during the war with Perseus, the last King of Macedon, when the troops of this prince prevented the passage through Tempe. Livy gives an interesting account of the extraordinary difficulties the Romans encountered in traversing this part of the Olympus chain, especially in their descent from the mountains towards the coast*. The country immediately around Pyrgetos is well cultivated, and the adjacent vallies, descending from the mountains towards the plain, are picturesque, fertile, and populous; several

* Lib. xliv. c. 6, 7, &c.

other small towns or villages entering into the landscape from this point of view.*

On the 26th we proceeded to Litochori, a journey of about six hours. For the first few miles, our route was over the plain, at the mouth of the Peneus, and tending in a north-east direction towards the sea. The appearance of this plain is rich and luxuriant in the extreme; and what is uncommon in Greece, it is divided in part by small enclosures: it is richly wooded over its whole extent; the trees are chiefly the plane and mulberry, and many of the former remarkable for their large and venerable growth. A great part of the plain is occupied in the culture of maize and wheat, which are chiefly conveyed to Salonica for exportation. While in this part of our route, we enjoyed a splendid retrospective view of Ossa, and the southern boundary of Tempe; the summit of the mountain rising above a broad zone of clouds which hung upon the sides of the upper ridge. Its skirts are intersected by many ravines, one of which, in particular, is remarkable for its great depth and abruptness. On the north-eastern skirts of the mountain are several towns and villages, some of considerable size, and almost entirely peopled by Greeks. All this country is finely wooded, and much of the timber is carried to Salonica for exportation.

At noon on this day, we stood on the shores of the Archipelago, where it runs up to form the deep gulph of Salonica, the Thermaic gulph of antiquity. We now saw distinctly the peninsula which forms the opposite coast; and beyond it, the lofty and singular cone of Mount Athos, famous in the annals of despotic folly. The Peneus, after a winding course from Tempe through the plains, enters the sea to the south of the spot where we now stood. We had followed the progress of this river from its mountainous origin in Pindus, watching

* There is reason to believe that the situation of Gyrton, mentioned by Homer and Strabo, nearly corresponded with that of Pyrgetos. The latter writer speaks of it as at the foot of Olympus, and near the river Peneus. Lib. 7.—Was not the Phila of Livy also somewhere in this vicinity?

the gradual increase of its stream, and the various scenery of hills, woods, defiles, and plains, through which it has its course. It had become in some sort a companion of our journey, and we now quitted its banks as if parting from an old friend.

Coasting the sea for some distance, we came to the castle of Platomana, a large and irregular groupe of buildings, surrounded by a lofty wall, and situated on a rocky promontory overhanging the sea. A stream flows through a deep channel to the south of this promontory, crossing which we entered a pass between the castle and the hills to the left. This point is the commencement of that narrow stripe of country, intervening between the base of Olympus and the sea, which formed the great passage from Thessaly into Macedonia, and which was the principal scene of the two campaigns that put an end to the sovereignty and race of the Macedonian kings. It may be presumed that the eminence of Platomana was the site of the ancient Heraclea, a town which was besieged by a detachment of the Roman army under Q. M. Philippus; and taken by the employment of the *testudo*, one body of troops forming an inclined platform by the elevation of their shields above the head, while others ascending this, were enabled to surmount the elevation of the walls, and to enter the town *. We stopped some time at a village in the pass, to make a meal on maize-bread, chesnuts, and wine; but were not allowed to enter the castle, which is guarded by a small body of Albanian soldiers. The arbutus (*arbutus andrachne*) grows in considerable quantity on the rocks in this vicinity; and Demetrius added to our repast by gathering some of the berries, the appearance and flavour of which are well known. It will be recollected that the *dant arbuta silvæ* is used by Virgil in describing the winter; and though now the latter end of November, these berries were yet not entirely ripe.

* See Livy, lib. xliv. 8, 9. The description leaves little doubt that Heraclea was on the site of Platomana. This place is now the seat of a Greek bishopric, the jurisdiction of which extends to Amphilochia, Rapshani, and other Greek towns in this district.

From Platomana to Litochori is an open country, descending from the base of Olympus to the sea, and intersected by several vallies, which bring down the waters from the eastern side of this mountain. The most considerable of these vallies, which opens out from a deep and rocky ravine, is probably that of the Enipeus; an important point in the campaign between the Romans and Macedonians, which terminated in the entire defeat of the latter at Pydna. The Macedonian King Perseus had strongly fortified the banks of this river during the preceding year; but the celebrated Paullus Æmilius compelled him to retire from this post, by sending Scipio Nasica with five thousand men through the mountains of Olympus, to threaten the rear of his army. For two or three days previously to the retreat of Perseus, an irregular combat was carried on between the two armies in the valley; chiefly as a feint on the part of P. Æmilius, but with considerable loss to the Romans, from the missile weapons thrown upon them from the Macedonian fortresses. The present appearance of this valley entirely coincides with the description of Livy, and illustrates well the narrative of the historian. *

During the remainder of our way to Litochori, we were so much enveloped in fog, that the landscape was entirely shut out from us; and in arriving at this place, which stands at the very foot of Olympus, every part and feature of this mountain was concealed from our view. We found a small and wretched town, the houses of which are scattered over a surface of rock so rugged and unequal, that it was with difficulty we could make our way to the habitation of the Aga commanding the place. He appointed our lodging in a Greek house surrounded by rude fragments and ridges of rock, and seeming itself as if nodding to its fall. The family were greatly alarmed by our arrival, and shut themselves up in an outer apartment, scarcely appearing until the moment of our

* Lib. xliv. 35. See also lib. xliv. 8.

departure. An old decrepit woman was sent to attend upon us from whom we could obtain little more than the phrases, Δεν εξευρω or Δεν καταλαμβανω, "I don't know," and "I don't understand," in reply to all the questions we proposed to her. The state of the weather, and our vicinity to the snows of Olympus, made us pass a very cold night here; and the people of Litochori have yet more reason than those of Eubæa, to give the name of Olympias to the wind coming down upon them from this mountain. In summer, however, the climate as well as the aspect of the place is probably rendered delightful by its situation underneath these heights.

The rock on the coast about Platomana is marble, and of fine quality, as may be seen in various places near the promontory on which the castle stands. On the way from thence to Litochori, the descent between Olympus and the sea is chiefly covered with fragments of a coarse conglomerate, composed from different primitive rocks, and containing a large proportion of marble. The houses and walls in Litochori are built in great measure of this conglomerate, which I found also scattered over the surface, in continuing our route northwards to Katrina. Among the primitive fragments, I noticed a few which appeared to be serpentine. These general observations, with what has been previously mentioned of the primitive slate country near Zarko, may lead to the inference, that the whole of the Olympus groupe is composed of primitive rocks*; an opinion I was prevented from actually verifying by the season of the year, and in part also by the thick fogs which hung over us for three successive days, while traversing this country. These fogs were such as entirely to hide the mountain; and but for one half hour on the morning we quitted Litochori, we travelled at its foot, with nothing but fancy to give the outline and height. This transient view, however, was extremely magnificent, and rendered even

* In Dr. Sibthorpe's collection at Oxford, there are specimens of marble with the locality of Olympus attached to them.

more so by suddenness and partial obscurity. We had not before been aware of the extreme vicinity of the town to the base of Olympus; but when leaving it on the 27th, and accidentally looking back, we saw through an opening in the fog, a faint outline of vast precipices, seeming almost to overhang the place, and so aerial in their aspect, that for a few minutes we doubted whether it might not be a delusion to the eye. The fog, however, dispersed yet more on this side, and partial openings were made; through which, as through arches, we saw the sun-beams resting on the snowy summits of Olympus, which rose into a dark blue sky, far above the belt of clouds and mist that hung upon the sides of the mountain. There was something peculiar in the manner of seeing this spot, which accorded well with the mythology that made it a residence of the gods; and looking to such association with ancient times, the distinct outline of Olympus under a summer sky might have been less imposing than this broken and partial display of its form, which seemed almost to separate it from the world below.

The transient view we had of the mountain from this point shewed us a line of precipices, of vast height, forming its eastern front toward the sea; and broken at intervals by deep hollows or ravines, which were richly clothed with forest trees. The oak, chesnut, beech, plane-tree, &c. are seen in great abundance along the base and skirts of the mountain, and towards the summit of the first ridge; large forests of pine spread themselves along the acclivities, giving that character to the face of the mountain which is so often alluded to by the ancient poets *. Behind this first ridge, others rise up and recede towards the loftier central heights of Olympus, now covered, as already described, with the snows of winter. Almost opposite the town of

† Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossæ frondosum involvere Olympum.
Virg. Georg. i. 281.

Horace (Lib. iii. Od. 4.) speaks of the "opaco Olympo;" and, alluding to the same story, Seneca (Agamem. v. 337.) calls it "pinifer Olympus."

Litochori, a vast ravine penetrates into the interior of the mountain, through the opening of which we saw, though only for a few minutes, what I conceive to be the summit — from this point of view, an obtuse cone, with a somewhat concave ascending line on each side. The sides of this ravine exhibit mural precipices of extraordinary height, and here and there the appearances of stratification were shewn by the snow lying on the edges of the strata. Our view, however, was too short and obscure to allow many observations of this nature.

It is said that snow frequently lies on certain parts of Olympus during the whole year. The ascent of the mountain, however, is perfectly practicable in the summer-season, and a small Greek chapel has even been constructed near the summit, where service is performed once a-year, with singular contrast to the old mythology of the spot. The highest habitation on the mountain is the monastery of St. Dionysius on its eastern side, and in the route which conducts towards the summit*. The height of Olympus may be considered as being probably somewhat more than 6000 feet. Plutarch tells us that the philosopher Xenagoras ascertained its elevation to be ten *stadia*, and nearly one *plethrum*, which would be a little below this estimate †. Bernouilli, however, (Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences, 1699.) gives the height at 1017 toises, or somewhat above it. I am not aware that this point has ever been barometrically ascertained.

From Litochori we proceeded to the town of Katrina, a journey of only twelve miles, but rendered comfortless by fogs and heavy rain, under the oppression of which even our Dervish lost his melody and merriment. The clouds soon closed again over Olympus, as if too sacred a spot to be long beheld; and we saw it only once again during a four hours ride along the plain which lies at its foot. We deviated somewhat from our road to a small *scala*, or port, upon the coast,

* Sonnini, in his travels, describes the ascent of Olympus, to which he made an excursion from Salonica.

† Plut. in vit. P. Æmil.

with the design of seeking a passage by sea to Salonica; but though there were several barks here already laden for that city, the wind was so adverse that none of them would attempt the passage. The loading of these vessels was chiefly wool, the produce of the great flocks of sheep which feed on the mountains of the Olympus chain, and in the northern part of Thessaly.

The site of the ancient Dium must have been in this vicinity, — a city which formed an important point in the war already alluded to between the Romans and Perseus; and which, though not large, yet might boast its temple of Jupiter, its fortifications, and the statues which adorned its public places *. The temple of Dium was in part destroyed by Scopas the Ætolian general, during the time of the last Philip of Macedon †: at present I am not aware that there are any remains to testify its exact site. The place was important as a military position, from the small interval which here occurs between the base of Olympus and the sea. Livy and Strabo both describe the distance as being about a mile; but it is probable that the land here has gained in some measure upon the sea, since it did not appear to me that there was any point where the interval was so small. It is not unlikely that a stream which flows to the sea just beyond the scala may be the river Buphyris of Livy; and that an extensive marsh which it forms in its progress through the plain may be the *ostium late restagnans*, which he describes as contracting the space between the mountain and the sea.

At the distance of two miles beyond this marsh we forded, though not without much difficulty, a large and rapid river, which is doubtless the Haliacmon of antiquity, descending from the mountains to the north-west of Olympus ‡. These mountains, by the partial clearing up the fog, we now saw forming a great sweep to the west and

* See Liv. lib. xliv. 7. Thucyd. lib. iv. 78.

† Polyb. lib. iv. 62. This historian mentions also a gymnasium here.

‡ The modern name of this river I was told to be Specioto, but the editors of the French Strabo (tom. iii. p. 124.) speak of it as the Ienicora.

north, and leaving towards the gulph of Salonica a wide extent of plain country, the Pieria of the ancients *. This district, which may be regarded as a part of the great plains of Macedonia, presents to the eye a fertile and pleasing aspect, and is richly wooded throughout a great part of its extent. It is chiefly from this part of the coast, and from the more immediate skirts of Olympus and Ossa, that the timber is obtained, which forms so important a branch of the export trade of Salonica. Some of the chesnut and plane trees which we passed on our route are of very remarkable size; and we noticed also much fine oak timber, well fitted for the purposes of ship-building.

Katrina is a small town situated on the plain two or three miles to the north of the river, and surrounded by much wood. It contains about 300 houses, some of them of large size, and a mosque, which has a picturesque character from the trees that environ it. We obtained a lodging here in the house formerly occupied by the Aga of the town, but recently purchased by Veli Pasha, and tenanted at this time by one of his *grammatikoi*, or Greek secretaries. This man received us hospitably, and provided us with a dinner, fruit, and other necessaries. A Greek of Livadia and two Zantiotes, travelling from Salonica to Larissa, arrived at Katrina about the same time as ourselves, and were also quartered in this house. After our repast, we were drawn by the sounds of music into the adjoining apartment, where we found the Dervish seated by a blazing fire on the hearth, and amusing a large assemblage of people with his mandolin, accompanied by the voice. The chords of the instrument, which by the Turks is called *sarchi*, are upwards of three feet in length. The Dervish played with some skill and variety of execution. His vocal

* The district of Pieria is stated by Ptolemy to extend from the Peneus to the Lydias; but according to Strabo it begins to the north of the Haliacmon, and extends northwards along the coast to the mouth of the Axius or Vardari. The mountains extending to the west and north of Olympus are probably the Cambunian Mountains of antiquity, a narrow passage over which conducted from Pieria into the district of Perrhæbia and Thessaly. See Liv. lib. xlii. 53.

music, which was all Turkish, was of a wild and uncouth cast, some of it warlike, and celebrating the triumphs of his nation, sung with a good deal of emphasis, but every-where broken and irregular. He was silently but attentively listened to by Sulema and our other Turkish companion, who sat on a couch near him, smoking their pipes. This was one groupe in the apartment. On the other side of the fire, the Livadian Greek, the two Zantiotes, and the secretary, were playing at cards on the floor, and in the back part of the room was a numerous groupe of attendants, chiefly Albanese soldiers, who listened to the songs of the Dervish with great seeming intentness and satisfaction. This singular scene continued till a late hour of the evening.

Katrina being a post town, we left here the post-horses which had brought us from Larissa, but found much difficulty in replacing them, and were even compelled to pay nine piastres a horse, in hiring others to carry us forward to the place where we proposed to embark for Salonica, a distance of less than fifteen miles. It was evident that we suffered from an imposition, which the Buyrouldi and Tartar of Ali Pasha would easily have obviated. But those of his son were more feeble, and the cares of the Tartar Sulema were directed to his dress and personal comforts, rather than to the service of our journey. Foppery exists under all latitudes and every form of national costume, and it was strikingly exhibited in the instance of this man. No *petit-maitre* of a European metropolis could be more scrupulously nice in the arrangement of his dress, nor any perhaps boast of so much positive richness of attire as our Tartar of Larissa. He usually wore two or three vests of purple velvet, all profusely embroidered; his under robe was made of a rich shawl-piece; round his waist were wrapped as a girdle three shawls, the outer one of common quality, the others of the finest manufacture, and between three and four yards in length. His manner of putting on these shawls was by fixing one end of each of them, and then turning himself within it from the other end, so as to draw the shawl tightly and uniformly round his waist. His arms consisted of two large pistols,

the handles plated with silver, and so decorated that each was worth 250 piastres. I believe there would be no exaggeration in estimating the value of his whole apparel at little less than 100*l.*, besides what he carried with him in a leathern case as a change on the journey.

On the 28th we only travelled to Leuterochori, a village about four hours journey to the north of Katrina. Heavy and incessant rain, coming with a cold wind from the chain of Olympus, fell upon us the whole way; the roads were in many places almost impassable, and the country without interest; so at least it seemed with the other impressions of the moment. The general surface over which we passed is plane, intersected, however, by many small vallies descending towards the sea, which in no place is more than three or four miles from the road. Judging from the soil, the country must be entirely of calcareous formation. It is tolerably well cultivated, and produces much grain.

About five miles from Katrina, we traversed a valley of some breadth, through which flow one or two small rivers, and ascended afterwards a low ridge of hill, on which stood the town of Kitros. This town is upon, or very near to the site of Pydna, a city rendered remarkable as the scene of that battle in which P. Æmilius defeated Perseus, and destroyed the kingdom of Macedon. The immediate place of action was in the valley, and on the banks of the streams mentioned above, the ancient names of which were the Æson and Lycus*. The nature of the ground in its present state accurately accords with the narrative of history, and illustrates well all the circumstances of this event. The Macedonian army, retiring from their fortresses on the Enipeus in apprehension of Scipio's coming upon their rear, took post on the northern side of this valley in front of Pydna. The Roman army arrived soon afterwards on the southern

* See Plut. in vit. L. P. Æmilii.— It appears from Strabo that the name of Pydna was changed to Kitron before his time, though Wesseling has supposed that the passage stating this may have been interpolated by some later hand. It is the Citium of Livy, lib. xlii. c. 51.

bank of the river, and one night intervened in this relative position before the battle took place. This night was signalized by a total eclipse of the moon, an event for which the sagacity of P. Æmilius had already prepared his army, but which was unexpected by the Macedonians, and produced a great terror in their ranks*. The battle took place the next day on the banks of the river; the enthusiasm of the Romans, seconded by the prudence of their general, speedily overcame the enemy, and the Macedonian army was almost wholly destroyed. We are told that 20,000 were slain on the field, and that the number of prisoners exceeded 10,000. Perseus himself fled through the forests of Pieria to Pella, and was some time afterwards made a prisoner in Samothrace.

Kitros is a small town, chiefly inhabited by Turks, and containing a mosque which stands on the summit of the ridge of hill. The inquiries I made respecting any ancient remains in the vicinity procured me no information. We had suffered so much from cold during our ride, that we remained here half an hour in the stable of a Khan, where we found a large fire blazing on the ground, with six or eight Turks crouched on mats around it. With some difficulty we made our way into the circle, and at any other time might have been repelled by the looks of ferocious haughtiness which were cast upon us, and by the opprobrious epithets which were at the same time muttered by several of the party. In Albania and the southern parts of Greece these things now seldom occur between Turks and travellers from the west of Europe; but in this district the Turkish population is proportionably much greater, and intercourse has done less to soften the prejudices of the nation.

From Kitros a ride of five miles brought us to Leuterochori (*the free village*), situated on an eminence within two miles of the gulph. This place must correspond nearly with the site of Methone, the city where Philip, while besieging it, lost his right eye by an arrow shot

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* See the narratives of Livy and Plutarch.

from the walls*. We decided on passing the night here, but had much difficulty in finding a lodging. The commandant, a rough Albanese soldier, though Sulema shewed him the passport of Veli Pasha, refused at first to do anything for us, alleging that he knew no other order but that of Ali Pasha. We sent again to say that we were friends of the Vizier, and had visited him at Ioannina; and my Turkish sabre was shewn by way of producing, if possible, further conviction. By the influence of these reasons we at length obtained admission into the house of the commandant himself, who treated us during the rest of the evening with a sort of boisterous civility, which was probably meant to compensate for the mode of our first reception. The naked mud walls of his mansion could afford indeed little more than shelter from the weather; but this we felt as no mean advantage on a stormy evening at the end of November.

This district is the most easterly part of the territory of Ali Pasha, and the point at which he approaches nearest to Constantinople. It was formerly mentioned that his requisitions in the region of the ancient Macedonia comprize four large cantons, stretching westwards from that part of the Pindus chain about Ochrida, Kastoria, &c. to the head of the gulph of Salonica. Here commences the territory governed by Ishmael Bey of Seres, who, though comparatively feeble in his power, yet forms an important barrier to the progress of Ali Pasha, in his position, and in the resources he derives from the natural wealth of the country.

On the morning of the 29th we proceeded to the coast, and embarked in a small bark for Salonica, accompanied by several Albanese soldiers and peasants. The distance of Salonica from this point does not exceed twenty miles, but calms or contrary wind kept us nearly eight hours on the passage. Our course lay across the gulph, at a short distance from its upper extremity, where the great plains of Macedonia terminate in extensive marshes and lagoons,

* Strabo describes Methone as 40 stadia to the north of Pydna.

through which the two large rivers, the Vardari and the Vistritza, flow to the sea. Of these rivers, the Vardari is the most considerable, rising from the mountains in the centre of the continent, and bringing down a large and constant body of water. This was the Axius of antiquity, to which Homer applies the name of the *wide-flowing**, and on which stood Pella, the capital of the Macedonian kings, at the distance of about fourteen miles from its mouth. The Vistritza seems to have been either the Lydias or Erigon, but now, as in former times, the rivers communicate by different branches, while flowing through these marshy plains; and not impossibly have undergone many changes in their course. The head of the gulph is rendered very shallow by the alluvial depositions which are doubtless still going on in this situation, and which eventually may much impede the navigation of the port. At present the shoals form good fishing-grounds, and numerous boats are constantly engaged in this occupation for the supply of Salonica, and other towns on the coast.

The approach to this city from the sea is very imposing. It is seen from a great distance, placed on the acclivity of a steep hill, which rises from the gulph at its north-east extremity; surrounded by lofty stone-walls, which ascend in a triangular form from the sea, and surmounted by a fortress with seven towers. The domes and minarets of numerous mosques rise from among the other buildings, environed, as usual, by cypresses, and giving a general air of splendour to the place. In approaching the city, we passed among the numerous vessels which afforded proof of its growing commerce, and at six in the evening came up to one of the principal quays, the avenues of which were still crowded with porters, boatmen, and sailors, and covered with goods of various description.

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* Iliad. lib. ii. 849. — The Axius had its origin from the groupe of mountains formerly called Scardus.

CHAP. XV.

SALONICA. — ENGLISH CONSUL HERE. — HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY. — MOSQUES OF STA. SOPHIA AND ST. DEMETRIUS. — ANTIQUITIES OF SALONICA. — POPULATION AND CHARACTER OF SOCIETY. — GERMAN RESIDENTS. — COMMERCE OF THE PLACE. — SKETCH OF THE OVERLAND TRADE TO GERMANY. — ISHMAEL BEY OF SERES.

IT was already dark when we landed on the quay of Salonica, and we found upon enquiry that we could not obtain access to the interior of the city, the gates being always closed at sunset. We were directed, however, to a Turkish coffee-house, near the place of landing, where we found a large room, divided by railing into four elevated compartments, one of which was allotted for our reception. The others were occupied by various groupes of people, Turks, Greeks, and Albanians; some sleeping, some smoking, others singing or in loud conversation. The Dervish who accompanied us hither, was as usual one of the merriest and most noisy in the apartment. He brought out his mandolin, chaunted his Turkish songs with the same vociferation as heretofore, and with a seeming defiance of all weariness, continued this occupation till a late hour of the night. The Turks who were smoking around him, appeared to derive enjoyment from his music, though this enjoyment could not be inferred from what are the ordinary signs of expression among other people. It may be doubted, perhaps, if the Turk is liable to many strong emotions of mind; but whether this be so or not, it is certain that the exterior demonstration of feeling is unknown to his national habits, and among his countrymen would even be considered disgraceful to his personal character. The pipe taken for a short time from the mouth, and something more of intentness given to the eye, are usually the only tokens of his feeling interest in what is passing

before him, and any more direct expression of pleasure is seldom obtained. This might be accepted as a stoical virtue of character, were it not soon found that neither knowledge nor thought are concealed under the gravity of Turkish demeanour, and that it is at best but the formal apathy of habit, which hangs thus heavily upon the countenance and manners of this nation.

We passed the night, surrounded by at least twenty people; and the following morning rose at an early hour to make room for the Turks, who came in great numbers to take their coffee in the apartment. While breakfasting ourselves in the midst of them, we dispatched Sulema with our letters to Yusuf Bey, the governor of the city. This was done rather as a matter of form, than from any anticipation of benefit, as we had now learnt on what terms the families of Ali Pasha, and of Ishmael Bey, the father of Yusuf, stood to each other, and how little was to be expected from any recommendation between these parties. In Salonica, fortunately there was little need of such recommendation; the presence of an English consul, and of a considerable Frank population, afforded every comfort to the residence of the stranger in this city. We waited this morning on Mr. Charnaud, the English consul, a gentleman to whom we were indebted for many attentions during our stay at Salonica. He is of a Levant family, and has now resided in this city more than twenty years. His lady, who is a native of Holland, and his daughters, who have never quitted Turkey, are unacquainted with the English language, but speak the Romaic with fluency, and as their ordinary medium of intercourse. At their dinner table, we found some approach to the English manner of living, but combined with that common throughout the south of Europe. The Frank families, which have long resided in the Levant, gradually lose their several national characteristics, as they become more identified with the habits of the country in which they live; and, unless within the precincts of a factory or other establishment, the traveller might often in vain seek to find a relation between a national name and the features of the individuals who bear it.

A more striking instance of this occurred to our notice, in the family of Mr. Abbott, an English merchant of Salonica. A residence of more than half a century in various parts of the Turkish empire, has taken from Mr. Abbott every thing English but his name, and an imperfect knowledge of the language. He wears the dress of the country, speaks the Turkish almost as his native tongue; associates chiefly with Turks, and might easily be mistaken by the stranger for one of this nation. Of his long residence abroad, forty-two years have been passed at Salonica; thirteen in the northern part of Asia Minor. He married a Greek lady of the latter country, and his son, the only person in the family who speaks English, is also married to a female of the same nation. We dined once or twice at Mr. Abbott's table during our stay at Salonica. The usages of his house differed very little from those of common Greek society; and the ladies of the family in particular were most scrupulous in their observation of the Greek fast, one period of which had just commenced with all its severities of denial.

By the assistance of Mr. Charnaud, we procured a lodging in the house of an old Frenchman of decayed fortunes, who has long resided in Salonica. We had wished that our Tartar should take up his abode in the same house; but the females of the family, who were all Greeks, expressed themselves in such horror of this idea, that we were compelled to change our plan, and to send Sulema to the coffee-house where we had lodged on the first night of our arrival.

The first two or three days of our residence at Salonica were chiefly occupied in surveying the interior of this city, well known to antiquity under the name of Thessalonica, and at the present time one of the most considerable towns in European Turkey. The most ancient appellation of the place was Therma, derived, in common with that of the gulph, from hot springs which still exist in several places upon the coast. The Macedonian Cassander, who enlarged and embellished the city so much as to merit the title of its founder, gave it the name of Thessalonica, in compliment to his wife, the daughter of Philip of Macedon. Cicero resided here some time during his banishment

from Rome; and many of his letters to Atticus, who was then at his estate in Epirus, are dated from Thessalonica. At the period when the Apostle Paul visited the place, it appears to have been large, populous, and wealthy; and the Byzantine historians speak much of its splendour and importance*. The massacre of 15,000 of its inhabitants, from the sudden fury of Theodosius, is well known to history, as well as the severe expiation required of that monarch by the intrepid Ambrose. In the decline of the Greek empire, the city was taken by William King of Sicily, and at a still later period made over by one of the Palæologi to the Venetians. The latter, however, enjoyed their possession but a few years, Thessalonica falling into the power of the Turks in 1431; to whose empire it has ever since been subject.

In its present state, Salonica is exceeded in population only by Constantinople, and possibly by Adrianopole, among the cities of European Turkey, and in the extent of its commerce is probably second to the capital alone. Its general situation and the magnificence of its external appearance have already been noticed. The circumference of the city, as determined by the walls, probably exceeds five miles. This included area has the form of an irregular triangle; the sea-wall being the base, and the apex of the triangle being formed by the castle, which surmounts and commands the town. Nearly the whole of this area is occupied by buildings, only a small interval of rocky ground being left between the city and the fortress. The interior of Salonica presents the same irregularity, and many of the same deformities which are common in Turkish towns. The rapid ascent of the hill diminishes this evil in the upper part of the town; and on the whole, as respects cleanliness and internal comfort, Salonica may contrast favourably with most other places in Turkey of large size and population. It certainly gains greatly in the

* See the description of Thessalonica by Ioannes Cameniates, in his narrative of the capture of the city by the Barbarians, (*during the time of Leo?*) Also the exclamatory eulogium of Demetrius Cydonius in describing the same event. Tzetzes, in his Chiliads, speaks of Thessalonica as πολις λαμπροτατη.

comparison, if activity of business be admitted as a criterion of superiority. Except in those quarters where the principal Turks reside, there is a general appearance of life and movement which forms a striking contrast to the monotony of a Turkish town. The quays are covered with goods; numerous groupes of people are occupied about the ships or the warehouses, and the Bazars are well stocked, and perpetually crowded with buyers and sellers. They are in fact chiefly Greeks or Jews who are thus occupied, people ever ready to seize any opening which may be offered to commercial industry, and ever ingenious in meeting and frustrating the political oppressions under which they labour. At the time when we visited Salonica, the great and sudden influx of trade to that port had afforded such an opening of the most favourable kind; and the character of Yusuf Bey's government was such, as not, in any material degree, to check the progress of industry.

The style of building in Salonica is entirely Turkish; and as in Ioannina, the houses of the principal inhabitants, Greeks as well as Turks, have small areas connected with them, generally occupied by a few trees. The foliage intermixed with the buildings, however, forms a much less striking feature here than in Ioannina; and the general appearance of the city is that of greater compactness and uniformity. The Bazars, which are situated in the lower part of the town, are very extensive, forming several long but narrow streets. As is common in this country, they are shaded either by trellises with vines, or by projecting wooden sheds, with branches of trees thrown across the intermediate space. The dealers, as I have already stated, are principally Greeks and Jews, with a large proportion of the latter nation. The shops are well filled with manufactured goods and colonial produce; but in the display of jewellery, shawls, and the richer articles of Oriental dress, appear to be inferior to those of Ioannina. In looking through the Bazars we observed a great abundance of caviare exposed to sale in the different shops: the sturgeon, from which this is obtained, is caught in the Black Sea; and the caviare is brought thence in large quantity, for the supply of

the Greeks, in different parts of Turkey, who make much use of this article during the long fast prescribed by their religion.

The number of minarets in Salonica contributes to the exterior magnificence of the city; and some of the mosques to which these belong, are worthy of notice from their size and antiquity. Attended by a Janissary, in the service of Mr. Charnaud, we visited the two most considerable; formerly the Greek churches of Santa Sophia, and St. Demetrius, but now converted to the purposes of the Mohammedan worship. The Santa Sophia was erected by the command of Justinian; the model of the edifice, though on a much larger scale, being the celebrated church of that name at Constantinople, and Arthemias the architect of both. There is something venerable and imposing in the approach to this building. It stands in the midst of an area, shaded by cypresses and other ancient trees; a large marble fountain is opposite to the great doors of the church; and detached portions of the original edifice, now partly in a ruinous state, are seen at intervals through the trees. We entered the interior of the mosque,—a privilege depending upon usage, which in all cases is omnipotent among the Turks. The floor, as is usual in Mohammedan churches, is entirely covered with mats or carpeting, upon which were kneeling in different places eighteen or twenty Turks, each singly and silently engaged in religious worship. With whatever sentiment the tenets of their religion may be regarded, it is impossible not to be struck with the decorum, or even dignity of devotion, which is manifested externally in the worship of this people. It was necessary to comply with their usage in taking off our shoes before we trod on the carpet of the mosque, or could advance underneath the large and lofty dome which forms the most conspicuous feature in the building. The interior, in its present state, exhibits but few of those decorations which gave splendour to the edifice in its original character of a Greek church. A sort of stone rostrum, however, is shown here, reputed by the Christians of the city to be that from which St. Paul preached to the Thessalonians. I am not aware on what this tradition is founded.

The mosque, once the Greek church of St. Demetrius, is of large size, and remarkable for the number and beauty of the ancient columns which support and adorn it. The loftiness of the building has admitted two heights of gallery; each, as well as the roof, supported by a tier of columns passing round the church. The total number is said to be three hundred and sixty. Some of these columns are of marble, some of *verde-antique*, others of sienite and a very beautiful prophyry. We visited the stone sepulchre of St. Demetrius in a cell adjoining the church, where a lamp is kept burning, chiefly, as it seems, to enable the Turk, who shews the place, to require a few coins from the visitor of the tomb. St. Demetrius was the patron saint of the city, famed for his martyrdom, and for various miracles which are recorded in the Byzantine history. A subterranean church is connected with the mosque, erected, it is said, on the site of the Jewish synagogue, where St. Paul preached to the people of Thessalonica.

There are few remains in this place belonging to a more remote antiquity. A triumphal gate, erected after the battle of Philippi, in honour of Augustus, has lost its former splendour by being made a part of the modern walls of the city. A work of greater magnificence is a triumphal arch of Roman brick, cased with marble, which traverses one of the principal streets. This is said to have been erected in honour of Constantine the Great. Originally there was a small arch on each side; but these are now blocked up; and in other respects the work is much defaced by time. Some fine bas-relief groupes still, however, remain on the piers of the arch; one representing a triumphal procession; a lower compartment describing the events of a battle;—the sculpture not without a good deal of spirit*.

*. Pococke speaks with great admiration of these bas-reliefs: and M. Beaujour, in his "Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce," depreciates them in an equal degree. Perhaps the truth is between these two writers. M. Beaujour, however, is certainly too luxuriant in his description of the figures on the Corinthian colonnade of Salonica.

In the middle of the city, a singular ruined structure is seen, forming in its present state the entrance to the area of a Greek house,—a Corinthian colonnade, of which four columns now remain, supporting an entablature, on which are corresponding pilastres, six feet in height. On each side of this upper colonnade are four figures in full length, now so far defaced by time, that it is not easy to make out all their characters. It seems probable, however, that three of those on one side represent Victory, Bacchus, and Ganymede; while on the other are the figures of Leda and Ariadne, a male figure, and that of a female in profile. This edifice is supposed to have been the entrance of the ancient circus of Thessalonica; and if so, the scene of the dreadful massacre directed by Theodosius. It is stated, though I know not on what authority, to have been built in the time of Nero. It does not appear that the columns ever exceeded five in number.

The walls of Salonica are lofty and well built. The castle forms a large distinct area, separated from the city by a tranverse wall; the greater part of which enclosure is either vacant, or occupied by irregular buildings. At its highest point stands the fortress, surmounted by seven towers, like that of the capital of Turkey. The view from this point is extensive and magnificent. The city, and its numerous minarets, are immediately below the eye; beyond these the expansion of the gulph, and the vast barrier of the Olympus chain towards the west; and in a northerly direction, the widely-spreading plains of Macedonia, and the rivers which pursue a tortuous course through them towards the sea. Pella, the ancient capital of the Macedonian kings, stood upon these plains; and its situation, even from this distance, is marked with some certainty, as well by the course of the rivers, as by the eminence on which stood the fortress of the city, described by Livy to be like an island rising out of the surrounding marshes. Towards the north of this tract of level country, a lofty range of mountains occupies part of the horizon; the modern name of which is said to be Xerolivado. In the same direction from Salonica is the large and populous city of Seres, the residence of Ishmael Bey, and the seat of his local government.

The view from the castle of Salonica, towards the peninsula of the ancient Pallene, is limited by the mountain called Chortehadje*; a few miles to the south-east of the city; on the sides of which hill, ice is preserved in wells during the whole year for the use of the population of Salonica. I cannot speak with certainty of the geological character of this peninsula; but I believe it probable, that there is a good deal of primitive country in its extent. Mount Athos is known to be composed of primitive rocks, marble, a compound of hornblende and felspar, &c. The hill on which Salonica is built, appears to be entirely composed of mica slate; a fact I first noticed in the open space between the city and the fortress, where there are many abrupt projections of this rock, exhibiting a great inclination of the strata. The mines of gold and silver near Philippi, and in other parts of Macedonia, are mentioned by various writers of antiquity.

The population of Salonica, in its present state, probably exceeds seventy thousand souls. I have heard it estimated as high as ninety thousand; but in this statement there appears to be some exaggeration. It is certain, however, that the number of inhabitants has been much increased within the last few years, owing in part to the extended commerce of the place, partly to the settlement of numerous emigrants who have fled hither to shun the power or the vengeance of Ali Pasha. The population is composed of four distinct classes, Turks, Greeks, Jews, and Franks; the last comprizing all those inhabitants who are natives of the other parts of Europe, whether English, French, Germans, or Italians. The Turks probably form somewhat less than half the whole population of the city. Though thus intermixed with other communities of people, they preserve all their peculiar national habits, and a greater facility of exercising them than their countrymen of Ioannina. In walking through those

* This mountain is probably the ancient Birmium, at the foot of which stood the city of Berræa. Edessa was situated beyond Pella in the same district.

quarters of Salonica, which are chiefly inhabited by these people, we were more than once exposed to insult from the young Turkish boys, who, with the accustomed opprobrious epithets, amused themselves by throwing stones at us. In a case of this kind, it would have been fruitless to remonstrate, and dangerous to offer violence in return.

The number of Greek families in Salonica is said to be about two thousand. The greater part of this population is engaged in commerce; and many of the Greek merchants resident here, have acquired considerable property from this source. The trade they carry on is in some measure subordinate to that of the Frank merchants of Salonica; but they have likewise extensive independent connections with Germany, Constantinople, Smyrna, Malta, and various parts of Greece. They do not possess so much reputation in literature as their countrymen of Ioannina, owing perhaps to the difference which their situation produces in the nature of their commercial concerns. I have visited, however, the houses of some of the Salonica merchants, in which there were large collections of books, including as well the Romaic literature as that of other parts of Europe. Salonica is one of the Greek metropolitan sees, to which eight suffragan bishoprics are annexed. The Greeks have a number of churches in the city, the principal of which is called the Rotundo, rendered remarkable by the domes rising from its roof, and giving an air of splendour to its external appearance.

The Jews form a large portion of the population of the city, and the number of houses occupied by this people is estimated at between three and four thousand. The community is of Spanish descent, and settled here under certain conditions of protection and privilege, which appear to have been faithfully executed on the part of the Turks. The Jews of higher class obtain a livelihood chiefly as brokers, or retail-dealers in the Bazars; the greater number are employed as porters on the quays, and in other similar offices. They exhibit the same active diligence here as elsewhere; but the repute

of fraudulent habits goes along with that of industry; and the Jews of Salonica are characterized in a saying of the country, as a people whom it is the business of every stranger to avoid.

The Frank population of Salonica is confined to the lower quarter of the city, but has latterly been much extended in number by the increasing commerce of the place. The German and French residents are more numerous than the English; and the former in particular have made several large establishments here within the last two years, in reference to the transit trade with the interior of Germany. The Austrian consul, M. Coch, is a gentleman who had formerly some rank in Venice, but who suffered during the revolutions of that state, and has been obliged to accept his present situation at Salonica, in which he appears to be deservedly respected. The French residents consist chiefly of families who have been long settled in the Levant, either professionally or in commercial engagements. Their consul at this time was M. Clairembaut, a gentleman who, in conformity to the designs of the existing government of France, is said to have shewn much activity in his endeavours to impede the British commerce at this port. There are two French medical practitioners in Salonica, one of whom, M. Lafond, appears to be much esteemed, both professionally and as a member of society, engrossing all the principal practice of the city.

The houses of the Franks resident in Salonica are similar to those of the native inhabitants of the country. The separation of their society from the rest of Europe has given rise to an intimate connection among themselves; and though by the usual faults or fatalities of life, some private feuds have found a way into the community, yet on the whole their social intercourse is maintained on a pleasant and respectable footing. The same circumstance of insulation has in general exempted them from any violence of national animosity;

* This saying conveys a caution, "to shun the Greek of Athens, the Turk of Negropont, and the Jew of Salonica."

though some time before our arrival, this harmony, which formed so important a benefit to all, had been affected by the influence of the French continental system, at that period under the despotic impulse of Napoleon, extending its baneful energies to every part of Europe. Humanity has but one comment to make on a political scheme, which could prohibit social intercourse with the subjects of a hostile power, even situated in this comparative seclusion; thus abolishing the courtesies of former warfare, and abridging, almost maliciously, the amount of human comfort. It is requisite, however, to mention that M. Clairembaut, though executing the intention of his govetnment, in the furtherance of this system, ventured a deviation so far as to call upon us during our stay at Salonica; an act of attention, for which we were indebted to the kindness of M. Pouquèville, who had written to him with this object.

We found much facility in entering into the society of the German residents at Salonica. Mr. Chassaud, a relation of Mr. Abbott's, and connected with the English establishment in the Levant, introduced us to the Austrian consul, at whose house we passed two very agreeable evenings. The party there was a sort of *conversazione*, with card-tables also in the room. The company consisted of Greeks, Germans, English, and a few French residents; the ladies of the Consul's family, and the lady and daughter of Mr. Chassaud, being the only females present. The Austrian Consul and Mr. Chassaud are married to sisters of a Greek family; and their daughters, who form the most cultivated part of the female society at Salonica, are more allied to the Greek than to the European character in their costume, manners, and language. After an interval of solicitation, which did not disprove the old saying of Horace respecting singers, these young ladies gave us a number of songs in the Romaic and Turkish languages; the style of music much alike in both, and more interesting from the peculiarity than from the harmony of these national airs. One Romaic song, composed by the unfortunate Rega, at the time when the French Revo-

lution gave a passing impulse to the spirits of the Greeks, was sung to the well-known air which we connected with the words of "*Life let us cherish, &c.*"* In listening to this, my memory was carried back for a moment, with a singular shifting of scene, to the shores of the Faxé-Fiord in Iceland; where two years before I had unexpectedly caught the sounds of this very air, played on the chords of the Icelandic *langspiel*. The effect of these sudden contrasts between memory and reality may be understood and estimated by all.

We received many civilities from the German merchants, resident at Salonica, and dined two or three times with large parties, which were made on our account. Their business of purchasing colonial and manufactured articles for the German market, and forwarding them overland through Turkey, is one that demands activity and enterprize, as well as capital; and accordingly we found several of them to be men of much intelligence and well acquainted with the world. We obtained, through their means, various particulars of this transit commerce; and though the extraordinary series of later events has now greatly diminished the importance of the subject, I trust I shall be pardoned in giving a slight sketch of a traffic, which was singular in its nature, and which the contingencies of the future may possibly again restore, though never, it may be hoped, from the same causes or the same necessity.

Till within the last three or four years, the commerce of Salonica was limited to a certain average amount of exports and imports, which will hereafter be mentioned; and to a small overland traffic with Germany, chiefly for the conveyance of the manufactures of Thessaly. The obstacles opposed to the commerce of Europe by the continental system of Napoleon, while creating an extreme scarcity of colonial produce and British manufactures through the interior of the continent, had the natural effect of conducting the merchant to

* This patriotic song, beginning, Τι χαιρίεσοιτε, φιλοι και αδελφοι, is one of the most popular and spirited of those which were addressed to the enthusiasm of the Greeks at the period in question.

more remote channels of intercourse; the increased price of his goods compensating for the greater risk of the enterprize. The port of Salonica formed one of these new channels of commerce, and the progressive extension and success of the French system during the years 1810, 1811, and 1812, produced an increase in the import trade of this place; depending on the necessity felt in Germany for articles, to which an access was denied by the accustomed routes. To conduct the overland traffic, the partners or agents of various German houses settled themselves at Salonica. The English intercourse with this port had hitherto been carried on through Malta, and in Maltese or Greek vessels; but the increasing demands for goods led to a more immediate communication, and during the year 1812 nearly thirty cargoes arrived here direct from England, besides a still greater number of vessels, under the English flag, from Malta and Gibraltar. The imports by these various cargoes were principally sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton-twist; with a smaller quantity of other articles, of miscellaneous kind. The goods thus forwarded to Salonica were received by the German agents there, transmitted by land-carriage through Turkey, and the payments made in bill-transactions between the commercial houses in Germany and their connections in England.

The most singular feature in this trade is the long and laborious journey, by which the goods are transported from the shores of the Archipelago to the very centre of the continent of Europe. Such a journey, indeed, will not compare in length or difficulty with many of those performed by the caravans of the East; but it is nevertheless interesting, both from the nature of the road, and as an evidence of what commerce can rapidly accomplish in obviating the impediments to which it may be exposed. From Salonica to the Austrian dominions there are two or three principal routes; one through the province of Bosnia; another through Bulgaria by Widin and Ossovo; a third which deviates from the last, at the city of Sophia, taking the direction of Belgrade. The Bosnian route conducts the traveller through Seraglio, a city said to contain more than 50,000

people; but the country to be traversed is so mountainous, that it is comparatively not much frequented. The second route, or that of Bulgaria, is the one which has been adopted for the transit of the overland commerce from Salonica. Pursuing a course nearly due north by Seres, Sophia, and Widin, it enters the Austrian territory at Ossova, and is thence continued through the Bannat of Hungary by Temiswar, to Pest, Raab, and Vienna. In the subjoined note *, some farther details are given respecting this road, which seems on the whole to be the most advantageous for the purposes of transit commerce; though in the present state of Turkey, liable, like others, to interruption from internal feuds and warfare. At the moment when we visited Salonica, such an interruption had just occurred, in consequence of a war between Mola Pasha of Widin, and his neighbour Yusuf Aga of Berkofcha. It was reported that the Pasha of Widin, following the example of his predecessor Paswan Oglou, had refused to obey certain mandates of the Turkish government, which, according to a practice very common in this part of the world, had impelled Yusuf Aga to attack him, with assurance of indirect support; thus satisfying its own dignity by exciting a petty warfare between two districts of the empire. It was conceived at Salonica, that this contest would be short; and that whichsoever party was successful, would readily allow the renewed passage of the caravans for the sake of the duties imposed upon them. In the mean-time, however, several individuals had gone up the country, to ascertain the practicability of a route through Servia; though it was apprehended there might be difficulty in establishing this, during the uncertain state of that province which succeeded to the Russian war.

* Some of the principal stages upon the Bulgarian route, setting out from Salonica, are, — Klissoli, Seres, Dimirissar, Melenico, Doupnitza (in this vicinity is the great mountain pass of Kresna), Sophia, Bereoftza (here there occurs a high mountain district), Lomm-Widin, Sambe, Ossova, Mechadia, Tetegova, Matina, Karanschebes, Zugosch, Kisgeto, Rekas, Temeswar (the capital of the Bannat), Betskerck, Kemlas, Mokrin, &c.

The goods landed at Salonica for carriage into Germany are chiefly transported upon the horses of the country. They are made up into packages, each weighing in general 1¼ cwt., and of these packages two are carried by every horse. The cavalcades for this inland journey are of various size, some consisting of one or two hundred, others even exceeding a thousand horses. A few days preceding our arrival, Mr. Leoghley, a German merchant, had dispatched one of nearly eleven hundred horses; the greatest number, it is said, which ever departed at one time from the city. The property transported by this single conveyance, at a moderate estimate, must have been worth 30,000*l.* on its arrival in Germany. The time occupied in the journey from Salonica to Vienna is in general about thirty-five days, exclusively of the quarantine at Ossova, which at this time was extended to twenty-eight days. The cavalcades usually travel eight hours in the twenty-four. In the evening they halt in the neigbourhood of some town or village; the packages are taken off the horses and placed in a central spot, with guards around them during the night; the horses pasture in the vicinity, and the men attending the cavalcade supply themselves with provisions from the villages. These men vary in number according to the size of the caravan, one man being commonly attached to every five horses, besides the guards who watch over the security of the whole. It is worthy of remark, that as far down as the close of 1812, no predatory attempt had been made upon these caravans, nor any material loss sustained by mere petty pillage during this long overland journey.

Camels are sometimes, but more rarely, employed for the inland carriage of goods to a certain distance from Salonica. Their load is double that of the horse, but the progress they make in a country like European Turkey is slow, and subject to numerous obstacles. We fortunately happened to see in the suburbs of Salonica a train of thirty or forty camels, just arrived from a journey; an interesting spectacle, as well in the magnificent size and attitudes of the animal, as in the connection it has with the tales and scenery of the East.

In their passage through the Turkish dominions, the goods are sub-

ject to various duties paid to the Pashas and other local authorities on the route; but these are for the most part of small account, often not exceeding a few *paras* on each package. They are said to be most considerable at Widin, the Pasha of which place has derived large sums from the passage of the caravans through his territory. I have heard it estimated that the total expence of the transit of sugar and coffee to Vienna was about cent. per cent. on their import value at Salonica, and it is easy to credit this statement. It has not been usual to effect insurances on the overland transport; this risk, as well as the expences of the journey, being compensated by the great demand and high price of colonial articles in Germany. In the autumn of 1812, coffee was selling at Vienna at a common price of 15*l.* per cwt.; sugar and other produce in the same proportion. It was found necessary, in carrying on this trade, to send down from Germany specie sufficient to pay the transit expences of the goods, no house at Salonica having means to afford accommodation of this kind.

The return cargoes from Salonica during this period of its augmented commerce have been chiefly of grain and timber; the former, in particular, rendered valuable by its deficiency at this time; not only in Spain, but even in Sicily, the ancient granary of Rome. Some obstacles were offered to this export of grain by the French influence operating through Constantinople, but the authority of the Porte in its provinces is too limited to oppose itself to an impulse powerful as that of gain. Shipments of corn, prohibited in appearance, were made with facility during the night; nor was it easy to raise impediments where the local government was the party chiefly concerned in these transactions.

The restoration of European commerce by the events of the last two years has had the effect of superseding this transit trade, and of reducing the commerce of Salonica to narrower limits. There is reason, however, to believe that it will still be greater than it was ten years ago; the low price which our colonial produce, &c. for some time bore, having led to an increased demand among Turks as well

as Greeks; which demand is likely in part to be continued, though the articles are again raised in value. Still, it may be considered that the trade of the place is now returning to its former level, and I shall therefore add a few remarks on its general nature and extent.

The exports from Salonica are principally corn, cotton, tobacco, and timber, the produce either of the great plains to the north of the city, or of the shores of the gulph towards the south. The plains of Macedonia have long been celebrated for their fertility in grain; and the cottons of the district of Seres, the ancient Sintice, are deservedly held in much repute. The culture of tobacco is of course of later origin, though this plant now forms one of the principal articles of growth in the lands surrounding the Macedonian villages. Almost all the produce of this important district centres in Salonica, as a place of export, it being in fact the only accessible outlet for a great part of the territory in question. Of the grain shipped from this port, the larger proportion is wheat, the quality of which may, for the most part, be considered very good *. In the year 1809, which will furnish perhaps a fair average, the export of wheat was estimated at 1,000,000 *kilos*, the kilo being about 55 lbs.; that of barley at 500,000; that of Indian corn at 100,000 kilos. The ordinary price of wheat for export has been from five to six or six and a half piastres per kilo, until the last two or three years, when its value has been greatly raised by deficient crops, and an increased demand in other countries †. Unfortunately for the interests of commerce, the Bey of Salonica preserves a monopoly of the corn trade, purchasing all the grain from the cultivators at a certain price, and disposing of it to the merchants for his own best advantage. The prohibition to the export of corn from Turkey is easily obviated, by means to which I have already alluded.

* The stranger must not judge of this from the bread in Salonica, which is rendered gritty and unpleasant by the softness of the stones employed in grinding it.

† The crop of 1812 was remarkably deficient, and when we visited Salonica flour was selling at 24 paras an oke, which quantity the year before had been sold at an average price of 14 paras.

The cottons of Macedonia are fine, though perhaps inferior to those of Thessaly. In the year 1809, the export of this article from Salonica amounted to 110,000 bales; the price on board varying from 60 to 85 or 90 paras per oke.

The annual produce of tobacco in this district has generally varied from 35,000 to 40,000 bales, the bale containing 110 okes, or about 275 lbs. Of this quantity nearly 30,000 bales are shipped at Salonica, chiefly to Alexandria, and the different Italian ports. The average annual export to Egypt has been estimated at 15,000 bales; but a considerable proportion of this tobacco is of inferior quality, the first cost of which does not exceed nine or ten piastres a bale, while the price of the Yenidje tobacco, which is the best quality, amounts to upwards of forty piastres. The duties on the different kinds are taken *ad valorem*. It is said that the produce of tobacco in Macedonia has considerably decreased within the last ten or twenty years, owing in part to the indirect effects of the war between Russia and the Porte, partly to the prevention of the regular sale in Egypt, by the invasion and subsequent events in that country.

Wool is another article in the trade from Salonica, and in the year already referred to, the export amounted to about 1,000,000 lbs. The timber of Salonica is chiefly obtained from the shores of the gulph, particularly in the vicinity of Katrina, and is well adapted to the purposes of ship-building, for which it is conveyed to Malta, and other ports of the Mediterranean.

The ordinary imports into Salonica consist of clayed sugars, Mocka and West Indian coffee, dye-woods, indigo, cochineal, muslins, printed calicoes, iron, lead, tin, watches, and various other articles of a miscellaneous kind. The quantity of none of these is very great, but the trade seems capable of extension; and the demand both for colonial and manufactured goods will probably receive a progressive increase. The commercial events of the last few years have doubtless contributed to this effect, and it is difficult to repel commerce from a ground where she has once freely trodden.

The ships at Salonica lie at anchor before the town, but the form of the gulph renders the harbour a safe one, and the access to it is by no means difficult. The ordinary import and export duties of the place are those common to foreign trade in Turkey, viz. three per cent. *ad valorem*; which duties are always farmed from the Porte by the governor of the city. The present governor, Yusuf Bey, has shewn a disposition to encourage trade, which can scarcely excite surprize, considering the large revenues he has latterly drawn from this source. It ought further to be mentioned, however, that the character and government of Yusuf are on the whole beneficial to the inhabitants of Salonica, and that he shews an exemption from many of the prejudices common to his nation. Though habitually reserved in his manner, he appears to have much curiosity and desire of improvement. He generally visits the English ships of war which enter the port, and has himself established a cannon foundery at Salonica, under the direction of a Frenchman, where brass cannon are cast of good manufacture. The wealth of Yusuf Bey is said to be great. His present residence is in the higher parts of the city, in a building which exhibits no exterior magnificence; but he is about to erect a new palace, which, it is reported, will cost nearly two millions of piastres.

Ishmael Bey of Seres, the father of Yusuf, is one of those characters, who, in the disjointed Turkish empire, have risen up into a sort of independence, retaining a permanent power in their several districts, with the recognition, however, of the authority of the Porte, and the payment of large sums to maintain an interest in the Divan. While Ali Pasha holds in subjection some of the more mountainous parts of Macedonia, Ishmael Bey has long possessed authority over the great plains of this country; and his present jurisdiction is said to extend over a district stretching five days' journey to the north of Salonica. This, according to the common estimate, gives a distance of 100 or 120 miles, but with a very small breadth. The city of Seres, the seat of his government, contains between five and six

thousand houses, and many wealthy inhabitants. Ishmael, now an old man, is a native of this country. His power, which has progressively increased during the last forty years, is maintained by a considerable military force; partly also, as it would seem, by the attachment of the population, and still more perhaps by the wealth he has derived from the revenues of a fertile country and a flourishing seaport. His jurisdiction is uncontrolled by that of the neighbouring Viziers or Pashas, and derives authority from the recognition of the Porte, with which he is said to maintain a good understanding. The power of Ishmael Bey, however, bears no comparison with that of Ali Pasha; nor has he the character of independent sovereignty which the latter derives from the extent of his territory, from his army, his revenues, and his intercourse with foreign powers. The active ambition of Ali has long been a source of alarm to the Bey of Seres, and but that such an enterprize in the relative situation of the parties would be equivalent to a declaration of war against the Porte, it is probable that these apprehensions might be justified by the reality. The immediate vicinity of Ali Pasha's dominions to Salonica has given particular cause for alarm in this quarter; and this feeling has been lately increased by rumours of Albanese soldiers and commissaries coming over in disguise to disturb and agitate the city. Such rumours may perhaps have originated in the politic caution of Ishmael and his son Yusuf Bey, who have further attested their apprehension by fortifying various points on the boundary, and by preventing the reparation of a bridge which had been broken down on the Vardari. It will probably depend less on these precautions than on the future state of the Turkish empire, whether the Vizier of Albania attempts, or refrains from, the enterprize in question.

During the last three days of our stay at Salonica, a northerly wind succeeded to those we before had from the west and south-west, which by their attendant rain and fogs had rendered so comfortless our journey from Larissa. The weather now suddenly became very clear and cold, the thermometer, at 8 *a. m.* on the morning of the 3d of December, falling as low as 36°. Salonica is con-

sidered an unhealthy place, more especially in the autumnal months, owing to the vicinity of the great marshes at the head of the gulph. Intermittent and remittent fevers are exceedingly common here, and during my stay in the city I was consulted upon several cases of ague, as well as upon some chronic visceral complaints, which from their history were evidently a consequence of old and repeated attacks of these fevers. It would seem that the Cinchona, as well as other medicines, is very often adulterated in its transit up the Mediterranean. Much of that which is found in the shops at Salonica, and generally employed there in the treatment of agues, can by no means be relied upon for the relief of this disease.

CHAP. XVI.

DEPARTURE FROM SALONICA BY SEA TO ZEITUN. — PROTRACTED AND DANGEROUS VOYAGE. — ISLES OF CHILIDROMI AND SARAKINO. — PIRATES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO. — SKOPELOS. — SKIATHOS. — TRIKERI. — GULPH OF VOLO. — COUNTRY ROUND THE SKIRTS OF MOUNT PELION. — PASSAGE UP THE GULPH OF ZEITUN. — VIEW OF THERMOPYLÆ.

IT was our original design to have returned by land from Salonica to Larissa, but the difficulties we had experienced in traversing this country, disposed us to adopt any other plan that might present itself; and finding a Greek polacca brig about to sail for Zeitun, we decided, with the advice of our Salonica friends, on taking a passage thither. Zeitun is a port at the head of the Maliac Gulph, and not far distant from the pass of Thermopylæ. Retaining in mind the promise I had given to Veli Pasha, to visit him again at Larissa, it was a part of this new arrangement that I should leave my friend at Zeitun; and, travelling with speed to fulfil my engagements at the former city, should rejoin him at the same place for the prosecution of our journey towards Athens. We left it to the option of the Tartar Sulema, whether he would embark with us for the sea voyage, or return by land to Larissa, and were not dissatisfied that he adopted the resolution of accompanying us.

The wind and weather augured favourably for our voyage, when we sailed from the bay of Salonica, on the evening of the fifth of December, and we had reason to believe that two days would bring us to our destined port. These predictions were lamentably mistaken in the event. For thirteen successive days we remained upon the sea, suffering under every circumstance which might render a voyage comfortless and distressing, and deriving consolation only

from a critical escape of the greater evils of shipwreck. The day after our departure from Salonica, we proceeded slowly down the gulph with little wind, but a heavy and lurid sky, with broken masses of dark cloud, from which our captain derived evil prognostics. The interesting character of the shores was not lessened to us, however, by this state of the weather. On our right hand were the richly-wooded plains of Katrina, and those of the mouth of the Peneus, with the heights of Olympus and Ossa forming a magnificent barrier behind. On the opposite side, the eye reposed first on the peninsula, anciently called Pallene: the promontory of Posidium was distinctly to be seen as we sailed along the coast; and the observation of the isthmus, connecting the peninsula with the main-land, allowed us to discern more remotely the general situation of Potidæa and Olynthus, cities which acquired celebrity in the wars between Philip and the Athenians. The peninsula of Pallene, which nowhere rises into lofty hills, is fertile and well cultivated, yeilding a considerable quantity of grain for exportation. Beyond the gulph of Cassandria (the Toronaic of the ancients), which form its eastern boundary, another low and narrow peninsula stretches in a south-east direction into the Archipelago. Over these peninsulas, and two intermediate gulphs, we saw the lofty pinnacle of Mount Athos rising in the distance, appearing from this point of view as a vast insulated cone, with a smaller conical eminence arising from one of its sides*. The height of Mount Athos, according to Kastner, is 3,353 feet. The modern name of this celebrated hill is Monte Santo, and its reputation among the modern Greeks is chiefly derived from the numerous assemblage of monasteries which are situated on the lower part of the mountain.

On the night of the sixth, a high wind came upon us from the south-west, and we were driven so far to the eastward of our course, that the following morning we found ourselves not far distant from the pro-

* See the table of the heights of mountains in Jameson's Geognosy. I am not aware in what manner this estimate of the height was made.

montory of Mount Athos, which rose majestically through the dark and broken clouds that hung upon its sides. At noon, after a gloomy calm of half an hour, the wind suddenly went round to the north, and, within twenty minutes of its commencement, blew with an extreme degree of violence. It was one of those extraordinary gusts which are common in the Mediterranean during the winter season, especially in those parts of the sea where there are deep inlets towards the north, as the gulph of Lyons, the Adriatic, and the gulph of Salonica. Our captain, more alarmed than flattered by the event of his predictions, decided upon taking refuge from the storm, in a port between the two islands of Chilidromi and Sarakino, about seventy miles distant from Mount Athos, in a direction south by west. These islands are a part of that groupe of which Skiathos and Skopelos form the principal features, and they are little known but as the occasional resort of the Archipelago pirates, or as a place of casual shelter to the trading vessels of the Greeks. The sea was running high, and the wind blowing almost with the force of a hurricane, when we entered the strait between the isles, leaving on the left hand another rocky island called Joura. Two anchors were put down, and we lay for an hour under the cliffs which form the southern shore of Chilidromi or Idromo. But as the night advanced, the storm grew yet more violent, the vessel dragged her anchors, and gradually drifted over towards the opposite shore of Sarakino, about three miles distant. At eight o'clock our situation became extremely critical; the night dark; a tempest of wind; thick sleet and snow; a high sea; and the vessel drifting upon a steep rocky coast, which, seen through the obscurity of the night, appeared almost to hang over our heads. We were summoned by the captain to prepare for the worst; we observed him addressing himself fervently to the picture of a saint in the cabin, before which a lamp was constantly kept burning; and each moment we expected to feel the shock of the vessel striking upon the rocks. Meanwhile the crew were not idle. The yards and sails were all got down to diminish the effect of the wind upon the ship, and a third anchor was thrown out; but what

proved of more importance to our safety was the vessel's being driven past a rocky promontory, which forms the entrance to a small bay within Spalmador. Here we were in some degree sheltered from the violence of the storm, and the anchors at length held their ground; but it was a critical escape, and during the whole night we were in alarm, lest the danger should recur upon us.

The view by day-light the following morning did not diminish our sense of the perils of the night. We found ourselves lying at a very short distance from the rocks, and saw a character of coast which would have rendered escape almost impossible, had we been thrown upon it. The wind still continued with great though abated violence, and attended with snow and severe cold. The thermometer at noon did not stand higher than 35°, and this temperature was the more distressing as we had no fuel on board, nor any means of artificial warmth. But for the state of the weather, our situation here would not have been unpleasant. It seemed as if we were lying in a large lake, without any apparent outlet: the land rising steeply on every side, destitute indeed of trees, but covered with wild shrubs, chiefly the arbutus, oleander, and varieties of ilex. We were prevented from landing at this time, partly by the heavy surf, still more by our apprehension of the pirates, who are reported to frequent these as well as the neighbouring isles; and whose office, it is said, frequently combines together plunder and death. The Archipelago, in its numerous islands and channels, has long been the scene of these maritime depredations, which have derived impunity from the feebleness of the Turkish government, and the peculiar inertness of its marine. The groupe of isles, at the entrance of the gulph of Salonica, has been a principal resort of the pirates, partly from the number of vessels passing this way; partly from the facility with which they can recruit their numbers among the Albanians who come down upon the coast. Their stations, however, are shifted, as may best suit the purposes of self-security or plunder; and this uncertainty increases the terror they inspire throughout these seas. Some months before we visited Salonica, they had been very numerous and active

on the shores near Katrina; and we heard various anecdotes envincing their boldness, rapacity, and ferocious disposition. Some of these pirates had been taken, and the remainder dislodged from this station; but the passage down the gulph was still considered dangerous for small vessels; and we were dissuaded at Salonica from venturing to sea in a coasting sloop, in which it had once been our design to embark for Volo.

In this unlawful vocation, large row-boats are chiefly employed; they are crowded with men, armed with pistols and cutlasses, who usually attempt to board the vessels on which their attack is made. On this coast the greater number of the pirates are said to be native Albanians, either allured to this occupation by its congeniality with their habits, or driven to it as a resource in escaping from the power of Ali Pasha. It must be remarked, that, on this side the Grecian continent, every desperado is currently called an Albanian; and the reputation of this people for ferocity is such, that the very name is made use of to excite feelings of terror; an opinion which, it must be owned, is not without some foundation in their actual character and habits.

Of whatsoever people the pirate communities are composed, and with every allowance for exaggeration, it is certain that they form a serious impediment to the commerce of these seas, and frequently commit acts of the most audacious kind. It has occasionally happened, that having captured merchants, or other persons of respectable rank in life, after stripping them of all that pertained to their persons, they have availed themselves of the influence of terror, in obtaining bonds for large sums of money, detaining their captives till they have actually received the price of redemption. The regard to life is small among men who are desperate in their fortunes; and this indifference is of course the same to the life of those who may fall into their power. A government, like that of Turkey, would scarcely suppress this system of piracy in any sea; but in the Archipelago, the pirates derive peculiar advantages from the isles which crowd its surface; some of them uninhabited, others having a popul-

ation easily made subservient to schemes of illegal plunder. Occasional efforts are directed against them by the Turkish ships of war; but these attempts in general serve but to provoke a greater boldness of enterprize. A few months before this time, a vessel of the Grand Signor's anchored in the same port where we had been sheltered from the storm: the crew landed; they were attacked by a body of pirates who happened to be then on the island; eleven were killed; and the remainder with difficulty effected their escape. The trade of the Archipelago will not be freed from these marauders, until the Greeks themselves can establish an armed marine, or some maritime power of Europe find an interest in abolishing the evil. But it would seem that the Mediterranean at large is destined to be the scene of this degradation, and that there is a policy somewhere or other licensing a system, which pursues the work of rapine and slavery on the finest sea in the world.*

Our apprehension of pirates was partially justified by the suspicious appearance of some men on the shore, on the morning after our arrival. Two persons only were first seen, who held out fish to us, and by their signs seemed to invite a landing in the boat. This continuing some time without our answering their motions, three others appeared suddenly, who seemed to have been concealed among the shrubs which covered the shore; they remained a few minutes on the beach, and then retired from our view. The following day the storm still continued, though with less violence; but on the morning of the

* More than once, during my voyage in the Mediterranean, I have been a witness of the piratical tyranny exercised in these seas by the Barbary Corsairs. Near to the isle of Majorca, I saw the Algerine squadron pursuing, with intent to capture, two Greek ships, probably belonging to Hydra. Off the bay of Cagliari a few days afterwards, I had the opportunity of seeing a pirate squadron with the red flag of Tunis, which, after chacing another Greek vessel into a port on this coast of Sardinia, landed a body of armed men, who carried off nine of the inhabitants into slavery. A month before this time, a single Tunisine ship had forcibly taken off twenty-nine peasants from the same coast. These outrages are constantly occurring in a sea which washes the shores of a large part of civilized Europe.

tenth, finding ourselves still detained by adverse winds, we ventured on shore with the boat's crew, taking precautions against any sudden surprize. This care eventually proved unnecessary. We met with two shepherds alone, — men, who from the rudeness of their dress and exterior might have been thought belonging to savage life, but who appeared gratified in seeing us, and eagerly gave a large wooden bowl of goat's milk in exchange for the bread which we proffered to them. They spoke a rude form of the Romaic language, in which they told us that their life was passed among this groupe of isles, in the care of their sheep and goats; that they had come to Sarakino a few days ago, and that they lived here, and in other uninhabited islands of the vicinity, in caves, or in huts, made of stones and brush-wood. They informed us that there had been pirates here a few weeks ago, but believed they were now gone to the neighbouring isle of Skopelos. Of the people whom we had seen on the beach two days before, they either knew or professed to know nothing.

The isle of Sarakino, which our mariners called Spalmador, is a narrow ridge of rock, stretching in a crescent-like form from east to west; its length eight miles; its breadth nowhere exceeding two. The port is on the northern side the island, a deep secluded bay, sheltered by the surrounding rocks, and to the north by the extension of the opposite island of Chilidromi. This bay has ten, fifteen, and twenty fathoms water very near to the shore: in the strait between the two isles, the depth varies from twenty to fifty fathoms. The rock is entirely calcareous, having the character of a coarsely crystallized marble, and without any vestige of organic remains. The highest point of the isle may be about six hundred feet above the sea. Though not much broken in its general outline, the surface is extremely rugged, being every-where covered with detached fragments of rock; among which the arbutus, the *Cistus ladaniferus*, and the *Scilla maritima*, grow in great abundance. The berry of the arbutus was at this time in its perfection; and we carried back with us to the vessel a large supply of this fruit. Eaten with goat's milk and sugar, it formed a very excellent dish; and peculiarly grateful to us

at this time, when the small stock of fresh provisions we had laid in at Salonica was drawing towards a close.

Another day's detention induced me to accompany the boat's crew in an excursion to the western extremity of the isle of Chilidromi; where we learnt from the shepherds of Sarakino, that we should find a small village. Besides the Greek sailors, two or three passengers of the same nation were with me in the boat, one of them a native of Mistra, the town which stands near the site of the ancient Sparta. After rowing for six or eight miles between the two islands, we landed on the southern shore of Chilidromi, and followed a rugged track of two miles to the village. This isle is about twelve miles in length, but every-where very narrow. It is formed of higher land than Sarakino; the surface finely varied, and here and there covered with fine woods, in addition to the shrubs which grow here as on the neighbouring isle. Much of the rock which I saw was marble, both milk-white and yellow varieties. Near the shore in several places, I observed the occurrence of calcareous strata lying upon the former rock, which from their appearance, and some vestiges of shells, might be regarded as recent deposits. On the beach of the island I found a great deal of sponge, and the *Scilla maritima* is extremely abundant here, as well as in Sarakino.

The village of Chilidromi is situated on a hill at the western point of the island; it consists of about 150 wretched cottages, many of which are now untenanted; the inhabitants having deserted the island, in consequence of the alarm and injuries they suffered from the pirates of these seas. The remaining population subsists chiefly upon fish, and the milk and flesh of the goats which feed upon the island. In two or three places only, I observed small patches of land under tillage, upon which the peasants were at this time occupied in the labours of the plough; oxen being employed for this purpose, as on the continent of Greece. I went up alone to some of these people, who expressed extreme astonishment at seeing a stranger in the Frank dress upon their solitary island. They accosted me with civility of manner, and asked with much eager-

ness for snuff or tobacco; in which request I was unfortunately not able to gratify them.*

Before leaving this island, I ascended a lofty pine-covered cliff which overhangs the sea on its southern coast. From this point, and favoured by the clearness of a frosty sky, I had a remarkably fine view of the eastern coast of the Negropont, and of the high chain of mountains which appears to form the central part of this island throughout its whole length. On the loftier summits of the chain much snow had already fallen. Several other isles of the Archipelago entered into the view from the cliff on which I now stood; Sarakino, with the Adelphi and various other rocky islets which surround it, was in front of me: Skopelos lay at a short distance towards the west: the small isle of Skangero was seen in a southern direction; and beyond and over it, the higher eminences of Skyros, an island known to history as the spot where Theseus died in banishment. Valerius Maximus not improperly calls it, *exsule minor insula*†. Beyond Sarakino, the sea lies open in the direction of Lesbos, and the Asiatic coast; but the interval was too great to allow even fancy to picture to itself the view of these shores.

There is some difficulty connected with the ancient geography of this groupe of isles, nor has it yet been determined with certainty, how we are to affix the names of Peparethos, Icos, and Halonesos, mentioned by various ancient writers. If we might suppose Skopelos to be the isle of Peparethos, we should have Icos and Halonesos as the former names of Chilidromi and Sarakino; but this supposition is perhaps of a doubtful nature.‡

* Since my return to England, I have heard the report of an unhappy event, which occurred last year on the coast of Chilidromi, from some misunderstanding between the captain of an English sloop of war, and the natives. The report said that several of the crew of the English vessel were killed in the affray.

† Skyros was celebrated for the beauty of its coloured marbles, which appear to have been greatly valued, and much employed by the Romans.

‡ See Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny. A passage in Livy (lib. xxviii. 5.) affords some reason for believing Skopelos and Peparethos to be the same; but it must be owned that the authors of the Modern Geography mention an island called Peperi, as another in this groupe.

On my return to the vessel at night, I found one of the shepherds waiting my arrival, with his son, a young boy, who was suffering under a form of chronic opthalmia, for which the father wished to ask my advice. This man came into the cabin of the vessel, much as a native of the South Sea islands might have done; gazing with eagerness upon all that was before him, and expressing his pleasure by that uncouth laughter, which marks the extreme of rustic ignorance. Neither the father nor son had ever seen a watch; and this of course excited peculiar admiration and surprize.

On the 12th of December, we availed ourselves of a partial change of wind to quit this port, but it was merely to change the scene of our ill-fortune. Scarcely had we got round the lofty promontory which forms the southern angle of Skopelos, when the wind became more adverse, increased in violence, and finally led us to seek shelter anew in a small bay called Panermo, on this side the island. Here we were detained two days; not, however, without some remonstrance against this delay, as we now began to believe our captain unreasonably cautious and timid; a character not unusual to the trading Greeks of the Archipelago, but which we little expected in him, after hearing that he had sailed round Cape Horn, and passed some years in the Spanish service, on the coasts of Chili and Peru. We found, however, an explanation of his caution, in learning that he was himself in part an owner of the vessel, upon which no insurance had been effected. Such a participation of interest is very general among the masters of the native Levant traders; and in the case of the cargo is sometimes extended to every individual of the crew,—a system which has many advantages, as well as certain inconveniences in practice.

The weather still continued extremely cold; the thermometer remaining as low as from 38° to 42°, with a north-west wind. Suffering much from this cause on board our vessel, we landed in Skopelos, and the sailors lighted a large fire of brush-wood, in a cave underneath the sea-cliffs; a spot difficult of access, but which bore the marks of having been often resorted to in the same way, either by pirates, or by those of more lawful occupation on the seas. The figures of the

Greek sailors, and of our Tartar Sulema, crouching round the fire in the recess of this cavern, might have formed a fine subject for a picture.

The isle of Skopelos, as its name denotes, is high and precipitous, and throughout its whole circumference, of more than 30 miles, presents a line of lofty cliffs towards the sea. It is considerably larger than Chilidromi; but resembles it in aspect, and evidently belongs to the same formation, detached probably either by a gradual *detritus*, or by some sudden convulsion of nature. In the channel between the two isles, is the insulated rock of St. Elias, which rises precipitously from the sea to a great height, and is obviously a part of the same calcareous ridge. There are two towns in Skopelos, the largest of which, situated on the eastern coast of the island, contains more than a thousand houses, and twelve Greek churches; the other, called Glossa, is situated on the front of a steep hill, which rises from the western coast. The population of the island is exclusively Greek; and, like that of the other isles of the Archipelago, is more immediately subject to the government of the Capitan Pasha, the great admiral of Turkey. This maritime government, on the whole, is much less oppressive than that of the continental provinces; chiefly owing to the diminished facility of access, which in Turkey, as I have elsewhere observed, may often be considered as determining the comparative freedom of a city or district. The habits of the Turks are singularly unfavourable to maritime power; and the efforts they have occasionally made on the seas which immediately surround them, have been rather the transient effects of personal activity in the Capitan Pasha, than in any permanent capabilities of the nation. The internal government of most of the isles of the Archipelago is left to the Greeks, who compose their population; and the irregular collection of a tribute is almost the only way in which the power of the Porte is manifested in its smaller insular possessions.

The greater part of Skopelos is uncultivated, but there are some portions of land, especially in the vicinity of the town, which produce grain, as well as grapes, olives, and other fruits of this climate. A

party of the sailors walked over to the town, while we remained in the port of Panermo, from which it is about five miles distant. Demetrius, who accompanied them, purchased for us some wine of the island, grapes, figs, and a species of cake made of the must of wine, boiled with a certain proportion of flour, so as to form it into a paste sufficiently agreeable in flavour. The wine of Skopelos has long had repute, and is certainly preferable to many of those of continental Greece. This circumstance perhaps may afford some proof that the ancient name of the isle was Peparethos; the excellence of the Peparethian wine being alluded to by various writers, and particularly by Pliny, who mentions that the physician Apollodorus strongly recommended its use to King Ptolemy, adding, that it was not agreeable till it had been kept six years *. The inhabitants of the isle are described to be an active industrious people, though without much education or refinement. The modern Greeks, like their ancestors, are fond of discriminating the peculiar character of the population, even in small districts and towns; and a recent geographical work in the Romaic language, which I have already referred to, is remarkably minute in giving such characteristics for the various localities in this part of Greece, of which the authors were natives. Their description of the people of Skopelos and Skiathos is quoted below, and shews copiousness of epithet, whatever may be the accuracy of the picture. †

On the 14th we sailed from Panermo, endeavouring to reach either the gulph of Volo or the island of Skiathos; but the wind was still adverse, and after advancing ten or twelve miles our captain sought shelter in the port of Agnotas, on the west side of Skopelos, and some distance to the south of the town of Glossa. This coast, though high, is more fertile than the southern, and exhibits traces of a better cul-

* Plin. lib. xiv. cap. 7. Demosthenes speaks also of the wines of Peparethos, and Ovid describes the isle as "nitidæ ferax olivæ." Metam. lib. vii, 470.

† In the Γεωγραφια Νεωτερικη, the inhabitants of Skopelos are stated as being επιμελεῖς, φιλοτιμοι, εγχειρηματιαι, χαροπωποι, φιληδονες, αμαθεις ομως, ακαλαςαλοι, ελαφροι. Their less estimable neighbours of Skiathos are described as οκνηροι εις ακρο, αμαθεις, ολιγε πνευματος, ρυπαροι, οι προεςοι υπερηφανοι και μαλαιωμενοι πως εινδι ευγενεις, &c.

tivation: The port of Agnotas, winding between limestone cliffs, forms a deep and secluded bay, which seems as a small inland lake, and affords an excellent harbour to the traders of these seas. We found here three Greek vessels, driven in like ourselves, either by a real or supposed necessity, and lying closely moored under the cliff. Besides these vessels, we saw in the bay of Agnotas the wrecks of two small sloops, which, we were told, had belonged to the pirates of the isles.

On the 15th we again put to sea; and, passing several small isles, covered with oaks, pines, and shrubs, approached the shores of Skiathos, and sailed slowly along the south coast of this island. The name of Skiathos is asserted to be derived from the fact, that at the rising of the sun in the summer solstice, the shadow of Mount Athos is projected thus far over the intervening sea *. The island is somewhat larger than that of Skopelos, and the soil more fertile; but its inhabitants are in bad repute among their neighbours for the want of industry and integrity; and there seems some foundation for one part at least of this charge, since their lands are cultivated in great measure by peasants who come over from Skopelos and the Negropont. The town of Skiathos stands on a peninsula on the north side of the island, and contains about 200 houses. On the southern coast is a wide and secure port, with a small town near it, called Oraio-Kastro. A Greek bishop resides in the island, taking his title conjointly from Skiathos and Skopelos, over both which isles his jurisdiction extends.

The coast of the continent opposite Skiathos was the scene of the first great calamity which befel Xerxes in his Grecian expedition. A sudden storm from the east drove a number of his vessels upon the coast, where, according to Herodotus, more than five hundred

* Pliny speaks of the shadow of this mountain as stretching to Myrrhina in Lemnos, when the sun is going down.

were wholly lost, together with many men, and much of the provision and treasure belonging to the army.*

On the evening of this day we entered the strait between the northern coast of Negropont, the ancient Eubæa, and that part of Thessaly which was formerly called Magnesia; and when the night closed upon us, were off the high and precipitous cape which limits, on the eastern side, the entrance to the gulph of Volo. This was the promontory Œantium of the ancients. It derives its present name from the town of Trikeri, which has an extraordinary situation on its western front, high in level above the sea, but surmounted behind by the conical summit of the promontory of yet greater height. This town is one instance, among many others, of the irregular distribution of territory and government in Turkey. It is of very modern origin, no long time having elapsed since the Trikeriotes inhabited a small island called Trikeri, in the strait between Eubæa and the main-land. From this spot they were driven by the frequent and destructive incursions of the pirates, and by a common consent they transferred their name and abode to the peninsular promontory on which the town now stands. Its situation, and other circumstances, have hitherto procured an exemption from the power of the Vizier of Albania, and the place is more directly subject to the court of Constantinople and the Capitan Pasha. It enjoys, however, much more actual liberty than is common among the Greek towns; and the effect of this, as well as of its favourable position, has been that of creating an extensive and prosperous commerce. Placed at the entrance of the gulphs of Volo and Zeitun, it commands a large traffic in corn, oil, and the other products of the country, and carries on also a very valuable

* This part of the sea between the gulph of Salonica and the Negropont appears to have been anciently called *Artemisium*, probably from a temple of Diana, which stood on the coast at the south-east angle of Magnesia. The mountain called Tisæus, mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius, is easily recognized in its situation to the east of Trikeri.

export trade in the sponges which are gathered in abundance on these shores. The town contains about 400 houses, and the population is exclusively of Greeks. The occupations of almost all the inhabitants are those connected with the sea and commerce, and they have obtained a high repute for industry and enterprize. Many of the Greek merchants of the place are possessed of considerable wealth, derived from their trading adventures; they are become extensive ship-owners, and employ their capital actively in the furtherance of their various traffic.

A few years ago, M. Gropius, now better known as one of the German residents in Athens, obtained the appointment of English Vice-Consul at Trikeri, as a place subordinate to the consulship at Salonica. Either from commercial jealousy, however, or other causes of disagreement, the merchants of Trikeri violently opposed themselves to M. Gropius; and after a short residence there, the grounds of quarrel became so multiplied and personal, that this gentleman was compelled finally to leave the place, to which he has since not been able to return. The eventual importance of Trikeri as the situation of an English resident would probably be in reference to the timber of the Negropont: in this island, and particularly as it is said in the northern parts of it, there are very extensive forests of oak, much of the timber of which is of large size, and well adapted to the purposes of ship-building. A certain quantity is at present cut down every year; and though the Turkish population of Negropont is notorious throughout Greece for its peculiar bigotry and harshness, it does not seem that any serious impediment is thrown in the way of this consumption. The government of the island, conjointly with a district of the opposite continent, is in the hands of a Pasha; and an arrangement made with this governor, whose provincial authority is probably sufficient for the purpose, might obtain a regular and large supply of timber from the forests of the country. In the event of this becoming a national object, Trikeri would be a desirable situation for an English resident, combining other advantages from its position at the opening of

two gulphs, which form the principal outlets for all the export trade of Thessaly.

The gulph of Volo, expanding from the channel underneath the promontory of Trikeri, forms a large semicircular bay towards the north, penetrating deeply into the district of the ancient Magnesia, and surrounded by mountains, some of which are well-known to classical lore. The gulph itself was the Sinus Pagaseticus, or Pelasgicus, of the ancients, consecrated to history as the first scene of the memorable Argonautic expedition. Iolcos, the spot from which Jason is said to have embarked his band of adventurers, was at the head of this gulph *. It exists no longer, but nature is more durable in her features, and the celebrated Pelion is seen rising from the shores of the gulph, its sides covered as in ancient times with forests of venerable growth †; springing perhaps from the same soil as those from which the ship Argo was framed. The name of Pelion is consecrated by other recollections as the region of the Centaurs, and as one of the hills by which it was fabled that the Giants meant to climb the heights of Olympus and to dethrone the sovereign of the gods. The respective forms of Ossa and Pelion explain well that part of the fable which supposes the former mountain to have been placed upon the latter. Ossa has a steeply conical form, terminating in a point. Pelion, on the other hand, exhibits a broad and less abrupt outline: as it is viewed from the south, two summits are seen at a considerable distance from each other,—a concavity between them, but so slight as almost to give the effect of a table-mountain, upon which fiction might readily suppose that another hill like Ossa should recline. The trees upon the sides and skirts of Pelion are chiefly the beech, chesnut, and plane, of which the chesnut-trees in particular are said to be remarkable for their size and venerable age.

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* Meletius, but on doubtful authority, has placed the site of Iolcos on that of the modern Volo.

† Πηλιον εἰνοσιφυλλον. Il. ii. v. 757.

The gulph of Volo took its ancient name from Pagasæ, the port of the city of Pheræ. This city, situated near the lake Bœbe, and ten miles from the head of the gulph, is well-known to history from the character of its three successive monarchs, Lycophron, Jason, and Alexander; but I am not aware that any ruins exist to testify its exact position. The modern town of Volo is finely situated at the head of the gulph, and contains about 700 houses, chiefly built of stone. In the same district is the large and populous town of Makrinitza, said to contain nearly 1200 houses, and surrounded by a country which, though hilly, is extremely fertile in its produce of oil and wine. The population is Greek, and enjoys a comparative political freedom in forming a part of the property of the Sultan's sister, without being subject to any provincial government. Numerous other towns or villages are scattered through the hilly and richly-wooded country round the skirts of Pelion, in the district of the ancient Magnesia, the population of which is partly engaged in agriculture, partly in manufactures connected with those of Amphilochia. The gulph of Volo forms the principal outlet for this tract of country, and from hence there is a large annual export of wheat, oil, tobacco, sponges, &c. — the trade being almost entirely carried on in Greek vessels, manned by seamen of the country.

A detailed account of the towns and villages in this flourishing tract of country is given in the Modern Greek Geography; the authors of which were natives of Melies, a town on the skirts of Pelion. The inhabitants of the district are generally called Zagoriotes in the Levant, from a town or rather a groupe of villages called Zagora, where there is a considerable school. The Greeks throughout the whole of this region, from Tempe to the gulph of Volo, enjoy certain advantages in situation and commerce, which have already been noticed in the case of the Amphilochians, and which afford them more liberty and greater scope for exertion than are common to most of their countrymen. Much of the modern literature of Greece has come from this quarter. Anthimus Gazi, the conductor of the Ερμῆς ὁ Λογιος at Vienna, is a native of Melies. He has compiled an

Hellenic and Romaic Lexicon, of which two volumes are now published, and reputed to possess much merit. He also published in 1799, in the Romaic language, the Philosophical Grammar of our countryman Benjamin Martin, under the title of Γραμματικη των φιλοσοφικων Επιστημων. Kavra, a physician of Amphilochia, has translated the Arithmetic and Algebra of Euler, and also the Abbé Millot's Elements of History. Daniel Philipidi of Melies, the town abovementioned, has published translations of Lalande's Astronomy, and of the logic of Condillac.

Velestino, a town near Volo, is the birth-place of the unfortunate Rega, a Greek whose memory is endeared to his countrymen as well by his writings as by the fate he met with while labouring for the liberties of his country. His active zeal at the time of the French revolution made him known at Constantinople, and he was way-laid and murdered near to Belgrade. Besides many patriotic songs and ballads, some of which have been made known to the English reader, he translated several works from the French and German into his native language. His friend Coronius, who was murdered at the same time with him, was the author of Greek translations of Gesner's Death of Abel, of the Galatea of Florian, and of the New Robinson Crusoe and Psychologia of Camp.

The rocks about Trikeri and the gulph of Volo are primitive, consisting chiefly of marble, mica-slate, talc-slate, serpentine, &c. Connecting this observation with those previously made, it will be found that nearly all the coasts bordering on the gulph of Salonica belong to the primitive formations; and it is worthy of remark that the part of the country intervening between Ossa and the straits of Eubæa, contains a large proportion of the Magnesian class of rocks. I have seen some fine specimens of asbestus, amianth, &c. from that part of it in the vicinity of the gulph of Volo. The Negropont, which forms a continuation of the same line, also contains a good deal of serpentine in the ridge of mountains which runs through this isle.

Our voyage was still retarded by adverse winds, and two days were occupied in the passage from Trikeri, up the gulph of Zeitun.

It was scarcely possible, however, to regret this delay, while enjoying the magnificent beauty of the shores which surrounded our inland navigation. On the left hand were the fertile plains and richly-wooded hills which form the coast of Eubæa, gradually rising towards the mountains in the centre of the isle; on our right we had the bold outline of the Thessalian coast, with the ridges of Pelion and Othrys in the back ground; in front of us we saw in the distance the loftier summits of the chain of Œta, deeply covered with their winter snows. As our vessel slowly proceeded up the gulph, I observed near its northern shore the two steep and insulated rocks, anciently called Deucalion and Pyrrha, which mark the point upon the coast where the region of Pthiotis succeeds to that of Magnesia. At some distance beyond, but removed two or three miles from the shore, was the site of Cremaste, or the Pelasgic Larissa, a city rendered illustrious as the capital of Achilles, whose territory, as we learn from Homer, extended along this coast to the head of the Maliac Gulph and the banks of the Sperchius, comprizing the wide and fertile plains which intervene between the mountain-chains of Othrys and Œta. The region of Pthiotis, one of the five divisions of ancient Thessaly, is further remarkable in history as one of the earliest seats of the Hellenians or Helladians; that people, who, after various intermediate habitations, appear at length to have formed the basis of the great Doric emigration which carried their name as well as the dialect and government of this northern part of Greece into every part of the Peloponnesus. Pthiotis formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Deucalion, the alleged founder of the Helladian race*; and the Grecian history of the deluge connects that event with this part of Thessaly, as well as with the country further to the west, and bordering on the river Achelous. This region is traversed from east to west by the chain of Mount Othrys, forming the northern boundary

* See Herodot. lib. i. 56. — Hellenus, from whom this people derived their name, was son to the celebrated Deucalion, and their later appellation of Dorians was obtained from Dorus, the son of Hellenus.

of the gulph, and of the broad valley of the Sperchius, further to the west. Of this chain, which may be considered as connecting itself with Pelion towards the east, the loftiest point is now the head of the gulph, formed by ridges which successively recede from the shore to a central point, at some distance from the coast. There is a gracefulness in the outline and general contour of the mountain, derived in part from this gradual recession of its ridges; partly from the luxuriant vegetation, and the foliage of the olive-groves which cover its lower slopes towards the sea. Though we have its description from Virgil as the "Othryn nivalem," there was yet scarcely any snow lying upon it*. The height of the mountain, however, is very considerable, and perhaps there would be no exaggeration in supposing it to exceed 3000 feet.

The scenery became still more interesting as we advanced towards the head of the gulph; where the channel, leaving a wide bay to the north-west, makes a sudden turn round the angle of Eubæa, and takes a south-east direction to form the sea of Eubæa, and the celebrated strait of the Euripus. It seemed here as if we were in a great inland lake, girt round by a magnificent outline of mountains, promontories, and vallies. The point of Eubæa, round which the channel winds, forms a lofty conical hill, ascending from the sea in a slope, richly cultivated, but broken at intervals by masses of rock projecting from the surface, amidst which stands the small town of Lithada. This, which was formerly the promontory of Ceneus, is finely opposed to that of Echinus, and to the fertile slopes and swelling ridges of Mount Othrys, on the northern side the channel. The eye, carried along the latter shore, where it sweeps round toward the north-west, to form the Malaic bay, reposes for a moment on a broad valley, bounded on each side by a precipitous barrier of mountains, through which the Sperchius flows to the sea. The mountains forming the southern boundary of this valley belong to the great chain of Œta; a

* Æneid. lib. vii. 675.

magnificent groupe which occupied the whole of the landscape in front of us, presenting to the sea a line of cliffs of vast height, and almost perpendicular in form, and beyond these numerous elevated summits passing into the remote distance. But the point which most interested us in this view, was the place of the ever-memorable Thermopylæ, a spot which more than almost any other historical scene has been sanctified by the veneration of succeeding ages. At this moment, indeed, looking upon it in front, we did not see the Pass as a distinct feature; but its situation was indicated by the heights of Œta approaching the sea, near to the mouth of the Sperchius; and its importance testified by the view of this mountain-chain, extending itself far towards the west, to form, in conjunction with Pindus, a barrier between the northern and southern parts of Greece.

CHAP. XVII.

STELIDA. — ZEITUN. — JOURNEY THROUGH THE SOUTHERN PART OF THESSALY TO LARISSA. — PASS OF THOMOKO. — FIELD OF PHARSALIA. — ARRIVAL AT LARISSA. — INTERVIEW WITH VELI PASHA. — RETURN TO ZEITUN. — DANGEROUS PASSAGE OVER THE CHAIN OF OTHRYS.

ON the afternoon of the 17th of December, we cast anchor opposite to Stelida, a small town, built on the ascent of a hill, near the northern extremity of the gulph. Beyond this point to the mouth of the river, the water has been rendered very shallow by the deposit of alluvial soil, which makes it necessary for all vessels coming to the gulph to take in their cargoes here. Whether the situation of Stelida corresponds with that of the Thebes of Thessaly, which Livy describes as the only maritime emporium of Pthiotis, I will not pretend to determine*. We landed here, and entered the town, which is rendered agreeable by a grove of olives and orange-trees surrounding it. Our Tartar conducted us to the habitation of the Aga commanding the place, whom we found sitting on a cushion in a small room, with several Albanese soldiers attending him; himself an Albanian, and habited in the costume of his country. The subjection of Thessaly to Ali Pasha has introduced into every part of the country these fierce-looking subjects of his western territory, who are well fitted to maintain his power. The Aga received us with politeness; gave us coffee and pipes; and there being no horses in the town, provided asses for our conveyance to the city of Zeitun, which is about ten miles distant.

* Lib. xxxix. cap. 25. Ptolemy and Strabo disagree materially about the situation of this place.

After the long delay in our voyage, I was anxious to commence immediately my journey to Larissa; the winter being now so far advanced as to make it desirable that we should reach Athens as soon as possible. I set out, therefore, the same evening for Zeitun, attended by Sulema and Demetrius; my friend, meanwhile, returning to the vessel, to wait there till Demetrius had provided a residence in the town, where he might remain during my absence. The Spartan who had been our fellow-passenger from Salonica, a tall and robust man, was desirous also of reaching Zeitun this evening, but could not procure either horse or ass to carry him thither. Hearing him utter many complaints on this subject, I expressed surprize that he could not resolve to walk thus far; and pointing across the gulph to the pass of Thermopylæ, which was distinctly seen from the eminence where we stood, asked him whether he believed his ancestors, under Leonidas, had come on horseback to defend Greece against the Persians? I had before found that he was acquainted with the history of this place, having himself pointed it out to me while sailing up the gulph. He now appeared to feel my remark more than I had expected; but the suggestion was of no avail, and he chose to return to the vessel, rather than degrade himself by travelling on foot. This feeling is habitual in the country; and neither Turk nor Greek, above a certain rank, will submit to be seen as pedestrians, otherwise than in tardily pacing through the streets of their towns.

The road to Zeitun conducted us along the skirt of the hills which border on the gulph, rising into the chain of Othrys towards the north. We were benighted before our arrival at the city; but the light of a full moon guided our way, and gave at the same an obscure grandeur of effect to the remarkable landscape which lay before us. The night was perfectly serene; the unruffled surface of the bay reflected a softened light from the moon-beams, which was strikingly contrasted with the dark cliffs of Thermopylæ, rising abruptly from the opposite shores, and broken at intervals by deep hollows and recesses of the mountain. The snow-covered summits of Œta appeared in the distance with a faint aërial outline, which might

almost have been thought a delusion on the sight. The course of the Sperchius was marked by a track of silvery light, winding through the broad valley beneath us, and finally mingling with the waters of the gulph. To this river Achilles made a vow of his hair, should he return in safety from the wars of Troy,—a vow of which his fate prevented the fulfilment. It is one of the most considerable of the Grecian streams, and though no longer the Sperchius of ancient times, yet its later name of Hellada consecrates to memory the history of the country through which it flows.*

Zeitun is situate on the ascent of a hill, on the northern side of the valley, and at the distance of about three miles from the river. The summit of the hill, which is of conical form, is crowned by the remains of a castle of considerable extent. The effect of the buildings of the town, rising above each other on this steep ascent, and on other adjoining eminences, is at once singular and picturesque. In the lower part of the town are several mosques, surrounded, as usual, by cypresses; some of which trees are here of remarkable size, and venerable from their age. Zeitun contains about 600 houses, and a population partly Turkish, partly Greek. The commerce of the place is rendered considerable by the large produce of grain in the valley of the Hellada, and in other districts of this country; the greater part of which is brought down to the gulph for exportation. The inland navigation afforded by this arm of the sea, is very beneficial to the interior of Thessaly; and the more so, as, with the exception of Volo, there are no ports on its eastern side to give an outlet to the produce of these plains.

There can be little doubt that the site of Zeitun corresponds with that of the ancient Lamia, the city where the Macedonian Antipater sustained a siege, and finally repelled the Athenian general Leos-

* There is reason to believe that this change of name, in common doubtless with many others in Greece, took place during the period of the later Greek empire. The Scholiast, upon a funeral oration, composed by Manuel Palæologus, says, that, from his time, the Sperchius received the name of Hellas.

thenes, and which was afterwards besieged by the last Philip of Macedon, when allied with the Romans against Antiochus*. Livy, in describing the latter event, mentions the difficulty the Macedonians experienced in making their mines, in consequence of the quantity of flint in the rock. It is worthy of notice that Zeitun stands on that calcareous formation so common in Greece, which is remarkable from the quantity of silex it contains, — a proof of the accuracy of the historian's narrative. At some distance to the east of the town, I observed a large stream which might admit the name of river, bursting forth suddenly from underneath these rocks, and flowing towards the sea.

It was too late when I arrived at Zeitun to apply to the Bey of the city, and I took up my night's lodging in the wretched apartment of a Khan. At an early hour the following morning, I set out on my journey for Larissa; the Tartar having made use of his passport to procure post-horses of a better kind than those to which we had been accustomed. Besides the *sourudze* who had charge of these, another Turk from the post-house attended me, who, though this dress somewhat resembled that of a Tartar, appeared to have no other office than that of urging the horses forward with his whip. Demetrius remained at Zeitun, to prepare for my friend's arrival there.

Larissa is distant from Zeitun about sixty miles, in a northerly direction. We commenced our route by ascending the chain of hills connected with Mount Othrys, and forming the northern boundary of the valley of the Hellada. These hills send down numerous successive ridges, with deep intervening hollows, at right angles to the direction of the valley. The country is open, bleak, and uncultivated; the rock still entirely calcareous. Towards the higher part of the ascent, there

* Strabo describes it as thirty stadia from the river, which corresponds with the actual distance of Zeitun. Livy, who is more minute, mentions its position on a hill, overlooking the broad valley between the city and Heraclea, at the entrance of Thermopylæ, which the Romans were besieging at the same time that Philip directed his force against Lamia. Lib. xxxii. 4.; xxxvi. 25.

is a *derveni*, or pass, guarded by Albanese soldiers; just beyond which, the situation of the road affords a very remarkable view of the valley beneath. The eye follows it, probably for nearly thirty miles, in a direct line towards the east-north-east, for many miles continuing very broad, and with a perfectly level surface; then gradually contracting, and ascending upwards among the mountains, from which the Hellada has its origin. These mountains are near the central part of the Grecian continent, where the chains of Œta and Pindus connect themselves with each other, and with that of Parnassus approaching from the south. Looking up the valley in this direction, I saw in the distance a very lofty snow-covered summit, which I conceive to be the Mount Tymphrestus of the ancients*. From the same point also, I enjoyed a striking view of the whole groupe of Mount Œta, on the opposite side the valley, and particularly of the vast cliffs which descend from these mountains even to the very level of the river, forming a singular contrast with the dead level of the plain, through which it flows.

This plain is well cultivated throughout the greater part of its extent, the produce being chiefly grain; and where it descends into the low lands near the sea, it affords a luxuriant pasture to the horses and sheep, which are seen grazing in vast numbers over its surface.

This extraordinary landscape is very interesting in a geographical point of view. It shews all the eastern part of that great mountain-barrier which traverses in this place the continent of Greece; and in the continuity of the precipitous outline presented to the eye, explains all the importance of that narrow but celebrated pass, where the Greeks so well fought for the liberties of their country.

Passing over some miles of an open rugged country, at the summit of this chain of hills, we descended to the Khan of Berbent, about ten miles from Zeitun. Thence we continued our descent into an

* See Strabo, lib. ix. cap. 6.

extensive plain; at the western extremity of which is a lake, ten or twelve miles in circumference, with two or three small villages near its banks. We passed within a short distance of one of these villages called Douchori, which my guides informed me was the private property of Ali Pasha. The landscape here would be pleasing, were it not for the deficiency of wood, which is common to all the plains of Thessaly. I am not aware that this lake is mentioned by any ancient writer; and from its situation on a high level, the waters now accumulated here might formerly, perhaps, have been carried off by artificial means. The plain adjoining the lake is nearly on the same level; a small part only appears to be occupied in tillage, but it affords pasture to large flocks of sheep. On the northern side is another range of hills, low in their elevation above the plain, but which may also be considered to form a part of the chain of Othrys. On their ascent stands the small town of Avrachi, inhabited by husbandmen and shepherds, and belonging to the private property of Veli Pasha.*

Continuing our progress for some miles over this second range of hills by a rocky and broken road, we came suddenly to the summit of a ridge, which breaks off abruptly towards the north, forming a boundary on this side to the central region of Thessaly,—those great plains which we had before traversed, in descending along the course of the Peneus to Larissa and Tempe. I know not that I have ever seen a landscape more singular and magnificent in its features than the one which was before me at this spot, rendered more impressive by the suddenness with which it meets the eye, and by its contrast with the previous scenery through which I had been travelling. At the moment I arrived on the ridge, the sun was

* Were I to venture a conjecture, I should say that this district may possibly have been the situation of Melitæum or of Halos, cities mentioned by ancient geographers; but the exact position of which has not been ascertained. See Thucyd. lib. iv. 147. Herodot. lib. vii. 197. Also the note of the editors of the French Strabo, tom. iii. p. 498.

shining brightly on the plains beneath, producing an effect of glittering indistinctness over their surface. It seemed like a vast lake above which I stood; nor was there within a circumference of at least 150 miles, a single elevation sufficient to destroy this resemblance. What is appearance now, might once have been reality; and it is impossible to look down upon this great bason, its flat unvaried surface, and the barrier of mountains every-where surrounding it, without giving faith to the tradition that it was once covered by water. The impression is more forcible from this point of view, than from any other in which I surveyed the plains of Thessaly.

At this important entrance into the plains from the south, stood the ancient city of Thaumaci; and the modern Thomoko occupies the same remarkable site, on a lofty pinnacle of hill, to the left of the ravine along which the road descends. The houses of the town, which is of considerable size, climb the steep declivity of the hill, and the summit is crowned by a castle, which in its situation seems almost to overhang the plains below. The extraordinary view from this spot has not escaped the notice of ancient writers; and Livy asserts, that the name of Thaumaci was obtained, as an expression of its wonderful character*. The description given by this historian of the place, and of the landscape, in narrating the unsuccessful siege of Thaumaci by Philip, is equally remarkable for accuracy and spirit. From the passage, which is quoted below, it will be seen that Livy adopts the same comparison of the plains to a great sea, spread below the eye†. This resemblance is much increased

* It has been considered doubtful whether this is the Thaumakia mentioned by Homer as one of the four towns under the rule of Philoctetes. Iliad, ii. 716. The editors of the French Strabo seem to regard the Thaumakia of Homer as situated in Magnesia, but it appears to me more probable, that this was the place designed. Adjoining the modern town are some ruins, belonging perhaps to the ancient city.

† "Thaumaci a Pylis, sinuque Maliaco per Lamiam eunti, loco alto siti sunt, ipsis faucibus imminentes, quas Cœla vocant; Thessaliæque transeunti confragosa loca,

by the particular contour of the mountains forming their boundary, of which I cannot convey a better idea, than by giving Pliny's short but emphatic description of them; "Omnes theatrali modo inflexi, cuneatis ante eos quinquaginta quinque urbibus*." This form of outline is most remarkable on the southern side of the plain, where it is seen to form one vast semicircular sweep, even from the foot of the Meteora rocks, as far as to a ridge of hills which stretch forward into it, a little to the west of Thaumaci. These hills, though of inconsiderable height, yet from their position conceal that portion of the plains surrounding Larissa;—a contraction of the landscape, which can scarcely be recognized, where all besides is so extensive and magnificent.

Looking from this distant point of view at the hills, on the opposite side of the plain, extending from behind Trikala and Zarko towards Olympus, I found additional cause to believe from their outline, that there is much primitive slate country in this district. The geology of a country, as well as its geography, is often best understood where the eye embraces most in a single view. Such an observation, at least, should always, if possible, precede and succeed the examination in detail.

Descending rapidly along the ravine below Thomoko, we arrived at a large Khan, where we halted half an hour, and made a meal on olives, bread, and goats'-milk cheese. At this place, for the first time, my Tartar Sulema shewed himself capable of passion. He wished to buy or otherwise appropriate a couple of fowls, which the people of the Khan were unwilling that he should have. Summoned to the place by the screams of women, I found him beating violently with his whip, the Greek who seemed to be master of the

implicatasque flexibus vallium vias. Ubi ventum ad hanc urbem est, repente, velut maris vasti, sic immensa panditur planities, ut subjectos campos terminare oculis haud facile queas. Ab eo miraculo *Thaumaci* appellati. Nec altitudine solum tuta urbs, sed quod saxo undique abscisso rupibus imposita est."

* Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 8.

Khan; and it was with much difficulty I could persuade him to desist from this exercise, which he accompanied with the strongest epithets of abusive contempt. I satisfied the man by immediate payment; and the fowls were given up to Sulema, and slung by the side of the *sourudze*'s horse, as the material for the evening's repast. This Khan, judging from the rate at which we travelled, is about 24 miles from Zeitun.

We now entered upon the plains; still, however, skirting along the range of low hills, which was before noticed as intercepting the view towards Larissa. Over the whole of this rich and luxuriant country, scarcely a single tree is to be seen. The tillage also of this part of the plain is very partial and limited, the land being chiefly employed as pasture. Several large villages are scattered over its surface; and our road carried us by, or rather through, two or three Turkish burying-grounds of great extent. There is something impressive in these assemblages of tombs, separated in situation from the abodes of men, but placed in the pathway of the traveller, as if to render the lesson more striking from the manner of its appeal to the mind.

Passing through a narrow defile between limestone rocks, in the range of hills just referred to, we entered the eastern portion of the plain; and just as the moon was rising over the chain of Pelion, arrived at the town of Tzatalze; a place well known to history under the more celebrated name of Pharsalia, and as the scene of the great battle which gave to Julius Cæsar a mastery over the liberties of his country. Tzatalze is the Turkish name of the town, but among the Greeks it is still commonly known by that of Phersala. It is situated underneath a rocky and precipitous front of hill, probably about 500 feet in height, and forming a semicircular sweep towards the north, on which side the town stands; on this hill are the ruins of the ancient castle of Pharsalia. At the distance of half a mile to the north, flows a small river, which is probably the ancient Apidanus; and beyond this, in the same direction, the plains are open towards Larissa, which is about 22 miles distant. The town

is divided into two portions; the largest, which is nearly on the level of the plain, inhabited exclusively by Turks; the other situated among the rocks on the ascent of the hill, and with a population entirely Greek. In the Turkish town, there are four mosques, and many large houses. The customs of this people, however, prevented me from obtaining a lodging in a private habitation, and I was conducted to a Khan connected with the post-house of the town. Here I supped and spent the evening in company with four or five Turks; the whole party sitting on mats around the fire. It was a curious groupe; and amusing to me as an exhibition of Turkish social intercourse. The characteristic taciturnity of the nation was shewn in long pauses, which no one thought himself obliged to break, and which were in fact occupied by the assiduous smoking of all the party. When conversation occurred, it was carried on with a brevity of phrase which might have surpassed even that of the old Spartans, and with a perfect uniformity and sedateness of manner. The distinct enunciation of the Turks, and perhaps also the simplicity of the Turkish language, increase the effect of this peculiar conciseness; and if the epithet *philosophical* might be applied to manner alone, would almost in this instance warrant its use. A Tartar, just come from his journey, joined our party in the course of the evening. Scarcely had he seated himself, when he took out his coffee-bag and silver cup, which all these people carry about with them, and made his coffee, simply by boiling it for a couple of minutes in a small iron-pot over the embers. This beverage seems as if indispensible to the existence of the Turk; and a luxury which he cannot forego. The evening meal of the party was perfectly moderate; consisting of a dish of the Turkish *dulma*, and the fowls, which had excited Sulema to so much violence at the Khan of Thomoko. We all eat, in the Turkish manner, with the fingers alone; the ewer and bason for washing being brought round as usual, both before and after the meal.

The battle of Pharsalia, as appears from the narrative of Cæsar, was fought on the plain adjoining the town, and immediately below

the heights which have been described. It was on the ascent of these heights that Pompey established his camp previously to the battle, his army being stationed on different points of their acclivity, which are extremely broken and rugged, the limestone forming itself into cliffs, and masses of naked rock projecting from the outline of the hill. As it was the object of Pompey to lead Cæsar to attack him while in this advantageous position, so was it that of the latter to induce Pompey to descend to a battle in the plain. After a comparative inaction of some days, Cæsar at length succeeded in his wishes. The army of Pompey, deriving confidence from its numerous cavalry *, and from its success at Dyrrachium, descended further from the position in the heights, and offered battle on equal ground. Its right rested on the banks of a stream which was doubtless the Apidanus, and the line extended itself westwards, keeping the parallel of the heights in the rear, a position which the actual features of the ground make it very easy to comprehend. The skilful manœuvres of Cæsar and the superior hardihood of his troops decided the event. The efforts of the infantry were at first equal, but the cavalry of Pompey, which formed his left wing, and on which he placed his chief reliance for outflanking Cæsar's army, was completely repulsed by a reserve body of infantry destined to this service, and their defeat speedily involved that of the whole army, with great destruction of lives. Pompey with his remaining troops retreated backwards upon the heights; he entered the prætorium of his camp, but was soon obliged to fly by the soldiers of Cæsar, who had ascended the heights in pursuit, and stormed the ramparts of the camp. A body of his troops betook themselves to the higher summits of the hill behind it, but lines were drawn around them; their position was destitute of water, and they were compelled to make a circuitous retreat towards Larissa, and afterwards to submit to the clemency of

* This army had 7000 cavalry in the field: that of Cæsar only one thousand. The infantry of Pompey was more than double that of his adversary. Cæs. Comment. lib. iii. 30.

the victor, in a position they had taken a few miles from Pharsalia. Cæsar remained master of the field and of the Roman world.

The neighbourhood of Pharsalia had been previously signalized by the battle between the Romans under Quintus Flaminius and the Macedonians commanded by their king, Philip, in which the latter was defeated with the loss of about 13,000 men. This combat, the details of which are given by Polybius and Livy *, and which led to the immediate submission of Philip, took place on the eminences called Cynoscephalæ, to the east of Pharsalia.

At an early hour on the morning of the 20th, we recommenced our journey; and, crossing the stream of the ancient Apidanus †, traversed the plains towards Larissa, at which place we arrived six hours after quitting Tzatalze. Nothing worthy of notice occurred on the route, except a splendid view of Olympus, seen from one point rising immediately over the mosques and minarets of Larissa, and now so deeply covered with snow that no part of its surface was left exposed above the mountains which lie at its feet. The surface of this part of the plain is varied by successive undulations, the lines of eminence having a pretty uniform direction from east to west. Grain is the principal produce of the district, and the appearance of the ploughed lands bore a favourable testimony to the style of cultivation. There are no inclosures, and the deficiency of wood is equally remarkable as in other parts of the plain.

Entering Larissa through its wretched and decayed suburbs, I proceeded to the mansion of the Archbishop, whose reception of me was

* Liv. lib. xxxiii. 6. et seq.

† There is some confusion in the account Strabo gives of the Apidanus, and its union with the Enipeus; but it seems most probable that it is the former river which flows in front of Tzatalze, that it is joined by the Enipeus, a branch of which comes from Thomoko, further to the west, and that the united stream flows in a northerly direction to join the Peneus between Zarko and Larissa. The epithet of "senex Apidanus," used by Ovid, (Metam. i. 580.) is well applicable to the tranquil course of this stream through the plains.

cordial in the extreme, and who renewed to me at once all the hospitalities of his house and table. I was mortified by learning from him that Veli Pasha had gone a few days before to a hunting residence on the skirts of Ossa, and that the time of his return was by no means certain, though expected every day. This expedition had been planned when I was before at Larissa, and the Pasha had requested, that if I found him absent I would follow him into the country, and stay there as long as was in my power. Desirous of rejoining my friend at Zeitun with all possible speed, I determined to set out the next morning in quest of Veli Pasha, and dispatching my business with him, to return immediately to Larissa. Having formed this resolution, I sat down to enjoy the society of my friend Velara, who came in soon after my arrival, and remained to dinner. My further observation of this man did not change my former opinion of his merits, and I still found cause to admire the strength of his understanding, his powers of satirical humour, and the extent of his acquirements. The character of the Archbishop's dinner-table was now somewhat changed by the ordinances of the great fast which precedes and attends the solemnities of Christmas in the Greek church. This fast, which continues forty days, is generally observed in the most rigid manner by the Greeks of all classes. Yet there was little reason to complain of the archiepiscopal fare, which, though confined entirely to fish and vegetables, was cooked with so much variety of skill that even epicurism might have been satisfied with it.

While strolling along the banks of the Peneus in the evening, I saw a long procession of horsemen approaching the city; and advancing towards them, found with much satisfaction that it was Veli Pasha, with his officers and attendants, returning from the country. In passing near the spot where I stood, the Pasha observed me. He stopped his horse, and accosted me with many expressions of pleasure at seeing me again at Larissa, of which he said, from my long absence, he had begun to despair. He inquired whether I was comfortably lodged in the city, and desired to see me at the Seraglio early the following morning. The horse on which Veli Pasha rode was

superbly caparisoned. Albanian soldiers attended him on each side on foot; and other Albanians of higher rank, as well as several of his principal Turkish officers, formed his retinue on horseback, all richly dressed, and many of them mounted on Arabian horses of great beauty.*

I supped alone with the Archbishop this evening, in his private chamber. By the combined assistance of broken French, Italian, and Romaic, we contrived to maintain a long conversation, chiefly regarding the present condition of the Greek church, on which subject he gave me some curious details. He entered into a minute comparison between the government of the Greek and Latin churches; expressed a decided opinion of the superiority of the former; and declaimed with much emphasis against the abuses and absurdities of the Papal system. This separation, he said, from the bosom of the primitive church, was the first great violation of the unity of the Christian world, and the source of almost all the evils and heresies which have since occurred. I ventured to refer to the earlier history of the Greek church, as a proof that schisms might have happened, even without the great leading separation of the Christian church. He continued, however, his invective against the Papal government, and applauses of the moderate and paternal character of the Greek church; and I found that this was a topic, which might not be contested without the risk of giving offence.

The following morning being Sunday, I again attended the service in the metropolitan church of Larissa. It was nearly the same in form as when I before witnessed it, except that on this occasion, in consequence of the approaching season of Christmas, the Archbishop addressed the congregation in a discourse of some length, and in the Romaic language. The subject, though one of practical morality, and involving but little doctrine, was nevertheless treated with much emphasis, and a vehemence of action and manner, greater perhaps than was correctly suitable to pulpit eloquence. The composition seemed to be in part extemporary, and shewed considerable fluency of language.

At 10 o'clock, a Turk came from the Seraglio, to say that Veli Pasha was waiting to see me. I went thither immediately with the physician Teriano; and found the Pasha sitting in an apartment which I had not before seen; his two sons with him, and also his ministers, Pashu Bey and Achmet Bey. He sent his sons out of the room; desired me to take a place close to him, which they had before occupied, and shewed me a profusion of civilities and attentions. A short interval of time was occupied by enquiries respecting our journey to and from Salonica, and our residence in that city. He asked whether we had seen Yusuf Bey; and was evidently not surprized that his letters had failed, in procuring us any direct attention from the son of Ishmael of Seres. We then proceeded to the medical business which formed the more immediate object of my return to Larissa. Pashu Bey and Achmet Bey were about to quit the room, but Veli Pasha desired them to stay, and they again seated themselves on the couches near us. In acquiescence with the wishes of the Pasha, I had drawn up in writing my opinion of his case, and of the mode of treatment that might best be pursued for the relief of his various symptoms. This memoir, which was written in Italian, I now presented to him. He desired Teriano to read it aloud with a Greek translation; and while this was done, he continued smoking his pipe, listening with much attention, and occasionally stopping to make enquiries or comments upon what he heard. When the reading of the paper was finished, he renewed to me the same acknowledgments he had before expressed. I now made enquiries as to the symptoms which had occurred during the interval of my absence from Larissa; and these he related to me at great length, and with more judgment and good sense than I could have ventured to expect. Veli Pasha may retain many of the deformities of the Turkish character, but he certainly has got rid of many of its prejudices. Some little change in the state of his symptoms had happened during this interval, which modified to a certain extent my recommendation of an immediate plan of treatment. Though my advice in some respects could not be welcome to him,

yet he received it in good part; and promised to adopt, as strictly as possible, all my directions in the method of cure prescribed.

This medical business lasted more than an hour. At the Pasha's desire I remained with him nearly as long, after it was concluded, answering various inquiries he made respecting England, the political state of Europe, the ancient history of different places in Greece, &c. Pashu Bey took an active part in this conversation; but Achmet listened in perfect silence, employing his hands meanwhile to taper his mustachios finely to a point,—an occupation very common among the Turkish beaux, who pride themselves on the beauty of this feature. Coffee, sherbet, and pipes, were brought round to us as usual by the attendants. Veli Pasha was urgent with me to remain some days at Larissa, and spoke much on this subject; but I pleaded the necessity of immediately rejoining my friend at Zeitun, and with some difficulty obtained his permission to set out the following morning. After an interview of two hours, and the mutual exchange of acknowledgments, I rose to take my leave. He got up himself from his couch, and attended me to the door of the apartment.

In the afternoon of this day, I went with Velara to visit a Greek physician of Larissa, who desired to ask my opinion about a chronic complaint with which he had been long affected. I found him an agreeable intelligent man; intimately conversant with ancient Greek literature, and familiar also with the belles-lettres of France and Germany. The Archbishop brought to me also this evening, for medical advice, one of the ministers of the church, whom I found affected with *cynanche tonsillaxis*, attended by a good deal of fever. I was about to administer an emetic to my patient, when I was told by the Bishop, that this remedy could not now be employed; that he had officiated at mass in the morning, and that the rites of the church rigidly proscribed the act of vomiting so soon after this ceremony. I remonstrated a little on the subject, but ultimately found it necessary to yield, and to adopt other means for the immediate use of my

patient, whose prejudices of course went along with those of his superior.

I passed this evening with Velara at his own house, and sat with him till a late hour. During part of the time, our conversation turned upon metaphysical topics; and chiefly on the old Pyrrhonic doctrine of the non-existence of matter. Velara, as usual, took the sceptical part of the argument, in which he shewed much ingenuity, and great knowledge of the more eminent controversialists on this and other collateral subjects. He was ignorant, however, of the writings of our countryman Bishop Berkley, of which I gave him a slight sketch, as bearing upon the topic before us. Of the name and philosophy of Hume, I found him already informed. Another Greek was with us at the supper-table, who listened attentively to the conversation, but took little part in it. This was the last time of my seeing Velara, and it was with a feeling of no common regret, that I left a man thus eminently gifted by nature and education, yet fated to loiter away his days in the dull and servile routine of a Turkish Seraglio.

On the morning of the 22d of December, I finally quitted Larissa, departing from the house of the hospitable Archbishop with a thousand good wishes and benedictions, which his kindness bestowed on me. The Tartar Sulema at his own desire, and authorized by Veli Pasha, set out with me again towards Zeitun; our Ioannina Tartar, Osmyn, not meeting me at Larissa, as I had expected. I found that he had returned there from his southern journey about a fortnight before, but hearing no tidings of us, had proceeded towards Salonica, to ascertain, if possible, what route we had taken. Scarcely had I advanced six miles from Larissa, when I saw a horseman galloping violently after me; and, awaiting his approach, found it to be Osmyn, who had arrived in the city an hour after my departure, had learnt the direction of my journey, and now came up to reclaim his post in my service. He told me he had been as far as Salonica in quest of us, and seemed to consider that his journey

gave him an additional right to attend our further progress to Athens. Sulema, however, would not be driven from his situation; and though I had wished to send one of them back to Larissa, I found it impossible to do this, and was obliged to consent that both should accompany me to Zeitun. Notwithstanding this arrangement, they looked at each other with great surliness, and each one, as he happened to be alone with me, endeavoured by various gestures and phrases to interest me in his favour.

I had a dismal ride to Tzatalze, under heavy and incessant rain, and on roads rendered almost impassable by the quantity of wet which had fallen for the last two days, and which lay in large pools upon the plains. It seemed as if the rainy season, with which we had long been threatened, was now fairly commenced. I gave up all idea of proceeding further than Tzatalze this evening, and took up my lodging there in the Greek quarter of the town, having previously tried in vain to procure shelter under a Turkish roof. The two Tartars slept in the same room with me, and I was much amused by the assiduity of their respective endeavours to recommend themselves to my favour. The superior activity of Osmyn, however, could not be mistaken. He dried my clothes, made me coffee, prepared my supper, and in short was unceasingly occupied in my service. The Greek family, with whom I lodged, were much alarmed by the presence of the Tartars, and scarcely ventured to shew themselves during my stay in the house.

I found a report prevailing here, which I had heard in several other places, that the English had just given up Santa Maura to Ali Pasha, and that he was immediately going to the coast with a large body of troops to take possession of the island. It was easy to conjecture that this could not be true, and the report probably arose from the circumstance of the Vizier's going down to Prevesa at this time, with a body of five or six thousand men, to reside there for two or three months. Such rumours are too often circulated, as I learnt, for the mere purpose of drawing together quickly the Albanian

soldiers scattered over the country, who are easily allured by the prospect of an expedition, or of plunder.

I was detained at Tzatalze to a late hour the following morning by the want of horses; and those with which we at length set out were, as I afterwards found, forcibly taken by the Turkish post-master from the peasants entering the town. They were of such a description, that before we reached the Khan of Thomoko, the two *sourudzes* were compelled to stop on the way, and never afterwards rejoined us. Osmyn and Sulema, who were now left alone with me, proposed passing the night at the Khan, and pointed out to me the thick and stormy clouds which were gathering in the evening sky. I was anxious, however, to proceed, knowing that my friend expected me this night; and having procured a fresh horse to carry my luggage, we continued our route towards Zeitun. When at the summit of the pass of Thomoko, I looked back for the last time on the great plains of Thessaly, not as I had before seen them, reflecting from their whole surface an unvaried blaze of light, but overhung with dark and broken masses of cloud, admitting at intervals the rays of a declining wintry sun, and giving to this vast landscape a wildness of character which was very imposing: I stopped some time on the summit of the ridge to gaze upon it, and should longer have remained at this spot, but that the Tartars hurried me on, representing the advanced time of the day, and the nature of the mountain-road before us.

Scarcely had we reached the Lake of Douchori, when the storm by which we had long been threatened, burst at once upon us with violent wind and heavy rain, mixed with sleet and snow. It continued and increased as we ascended the chain of Othrys; and when we arrived at the Khan of Berbent, it was matter of doubt whether we should venture to proceed, or stop for the night at this wretched hovel. After some hesitation we continued our journey. But each moment now became more calamitous to us: the road, in ascending to the higher ridges of the mountain, is narrow, rugged, and dangerous; the night was intensely dark, and the wind and snow beating upon us with unabated

violence. When about two miles from the Khan, Sulema and his horse fell together down a precipitous declivity of rock. I was immediately behind him, but, though nothing was to be seen, I fortunately heard the noise of his fall, and stopped in time to save myself from the same misfortune. Drawn to the spot by Sulema's cries, Osmyn quitted his own horse, and with equal boldness and activity explored his way to the spot where his brother Tartar lay. Sulema was recovered, though severely bruised by his fall; and after the interval of about half an hour, the two Tartars rejoined me on the spot where I had remained during this time, without venturing to move a step on any side. The unfortunate horse was left to its fate. We should now willingly have regained the Khan, but it was as perilous to recede as to advance; and Osmyn, before desirous to halt for the night, was now the first to urge the necessity of going on. Trusting ourselves entirely to his guidance, (for Sulema was at present as little able to act as myself,) we proceeded on foot, and with extreme caution, following the direction of the voice alone, as the obscurity of the night prevented us from seeing more than a few feet on any side. The activity of Osmyn was not less remarkable than his accurate knowledge of this rugged mountain-road; every winding of which seemed familiar to his recollection, as if he had known them from his earliest boyhood. Yet the route was full of peril and difficulty to us; and the six midnight hours which I passed on the ridges of Mount Othrys, exposed alike to the dangers of the precipice, and to the tempest and severity of a December sky, made an impression on my memory which will not soon be effaced. It was three hours after midnight when we arrived at Zeitun. We luckily encountered a man at the post-house, who told us in what part of the city the Frank stranger was lodged; and proceeding thither, I was fortunate enough to obtain access to the Greek house, where my friend had lived during my absence. Here I found all that was needful to relieve me after the toils of my long and comfortless journey.

CHAP. XVIII.

FROM ZEITUN TO THE PASS OF THERMOPYLÆ. — DESCRIPTION OF THE PASS, IN REFERENCE TO ITS ANCIENT HISTORY. — ASCENT OF THE CHAIN OF ŒTA. — LEUTEROCHORI. — VALLEY OF THE CEPHISSUS. — PASSAGE OVER THE CHAIN OF MOUNTAINS TO SALONA. — VIEW FROM THE SUMMIT. — MINERALOGICAL REMARKS.

HAVING fulfilled my engagement with Veli Pasha, it now became our plan to proceed immediately to Athens, taking, however, a somewhat circuitous route through the ancient Phocis, for the purpose of visiting the site of Delphi, and other objects of interest in this part of Greece. Before quitting Zeitun, we were called upon to decide between the claims of our two Tartars, each of whom was solicitous to attend our journey. We finally gave the preference of Osmyn, who, besides his priority in our service, and his laborious journey to Salonica in quest of us, had a further claim in his superior zeal and activity, of which he had afforded a striking proof in my perilous passage over Mount Othrys. Osmyn, too, had the *Buyrouldi* of Ali Pasha in his hands; and this passport we found so much more efficacious than that of Veli, that it was an important object to keep it by us. In a country, where unhappily so much is habitually effected by the means of terror, the traveller is compelled to submit to these usages of despotism, and even to avail himself of their influence.

We left Zeitun on the morning of the 23d, directing our course towards the pass of Thermopylæ, which formed the principal object of the day's journey. Traversing the broad swampy plains which form the valley of the Sperchius or Hellada, we crossed this river by a good bridge of modern construction; at no great distance, probably,

from the site of the ancient town of Anticyra *. The stream of the Hellada is inferior in size to that of the Salympria at Larissa, though at this time much swelled by the rains which had fallen incessantly for some days past. It enters the bay three or four miles below the bridge, flowing entirely through morasses, and divided into different channels, so as to correspond well with the description Pausanias gives of this point of its course †. It appears certain, however, that since the time of Herodotus the alluvial depositions of the Sperchius have encroached considerably on the bay, so that this river now enters the sea much lower down than at the period when Thermopylæ was signalized by the invasion of the Persians ‡. From the lowness of the level it is probable that some saline impregnation may be given to these marshy plains, rendering them more grateful as pasture to the numerous herds of cattle which feed on their surface.

We now entered upon that narrow portion of the plain which lies to the south of the Hellada, intervening between this river and the precipitous cliffs of Œta. It was in this district, which had the name of Trachinia, that the vast army of Xerxes was encamped, while the passage of Thermopylæ was disputed with him by the Grecian army §. Looking over the ground, and recollecting the estimate which Herodotus gives of the number of the Persians, it is difficult not to believe from this observation alone, that the historian has greatly exaggerated their amount, unless indeed we suppose that a

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* Herodot. lib. vii. 198. Strab. lib. ix.

† Pausan. lib. x. 20.

‡ It appears from the account of Herodotus, that the Asopus and other streams descending from Œta, which now enter the Sperchius, formerly flowed directly to the sea.

§ See Herodot. lib. vii. 198. et seq. — The name of Trachinia was derived from the town and fortress of Trachis, situated under the cliffs of Œta, about a mile and a half from the entrance of the pass, and at no great distance from the place where we crossed the Sperchius. This town was rebuilt by the Lacedemonians about 426 years A. C., a few stadia from its ancient situation, and took the name of Heraclea, by which we find it afterwards mentioned. Strab. lib. ix. — Thucydides (lib. iii.) states Heraclea to be 40 stadia from Thermopylæ, and 20 from the sea.

large portion of the army was left on the northern side of the Sperchius, or that the multitude extended far to the west up the valley of this river. Presuming, what is probable from the season of the year, that there had been a long continuance of dry weather, we may believe that much of the marshy ground at the mouth of the Sperchius was capable of bearing the march or encampment of an army; but with all these allowances, a presumption still arises from the appearance of the ground against the accuracy of the historian's statement.

From the bridge over the river, we proceeded in a south-east direction towards Thermopylæ, having on our right hand the Trachinian cliffs of Œta, which rise above into the lofty summits anciently called Kallidromos and Tichius, impending over the pass *. We were made aware of our approach to this memorable spot, as well by the contracting interval between the cliffs and the sea, as by the columns of vapour rising from the hot springs, which have given origin to the name of the strait. We hastened rapidly towards these springs, which are scarcely two miles distant from the bridge. We observed immediately before us the sacred eminence of Anthela, where the council of the Amphictyons was first assembled; and in the contracted pass in which we now stood, saw the obstacle that prevented the Persians from bursting at once into Greece, — that produced the battle and the glory of Thermopylæ.

The lapse of 2300 years has indeed made certain changes in the character of this spot; yet, nevertheless, its more remarkable features still remain to attest the integrity of history, and the valour of those who here sacrificed themselves for their country. The traveller must not, it is true, expect to see the waves washing against the narrow

* See Appian De Bello Syriaco, and Livy, xxxvi. c. 16. — Livy's description of Thermopylæ is extremely accurate, and by a slight geographical sketch he illustrates well its importance to the safety of Greece. The plan of the pass by M. Barbié du Bocage is on the whole exact, and, by extending the bay upwards over what is now marsh, accords with the description of Herodotus.

road which winds under the rocks of Œta. A low swampy plain, or what, when I saw it, might well be termed a morass, every-where intervenes between the cliffs and the sea; and the alluvial depositions of the Sperchius appear to have been greatest on this side the bay, the river now flowing for some distance opposite and parallel to the pass, before it loses itself in the sea.* It is certain, however, that as far back as the time of Herodotus, a morass formed one of the boundaries of the pass even in its narrowest part; and it appears, from his account, that the Phocians had artificially increased this, by allowing the water from the hot springs to spread itself over the surface with the view of rendering the passage yet more impracticable to their restless neighbours, the Thessalians *. From the description of later events by Livy and Pausanias, it is probable, that before their time this swampy plain had extended itself, and become more nearly resembling its present state.†

The hot springs form one of the most interesting features in the topography of the place; the same in situation, the same probably in their phenomena, as they were at the remote period of time when Leonidas fought in the Pass of Thermopylæ. These springs issue from four or five different places at the base of the cliffs, and from their locality, as well as from the general outline of the pass, it becomes easy to trace other positions which are important in the history of the spot. The small plain of Anthela, in front of the springs, and intervening between two contractions of the pass, is still an obvious feature; and equally so, the eminence already mentioned adjoining to Anthela, on which, in a temple dedicated to Ceres, the meetings of the Amphictyonic council were held, long before their establishment

* Herodot. lib. vii. 176.

† Livy (lib. xxxvi. c. 18.), describing the attack of the Roman army upon that of Antiochus in the Pass of Thermopylæ, speaks of the "loca usque ad mare invia palustri limo et voraginibus." — Appian, in his narrative of the same Syrian war, describes Thermopylæ as a long and narrow passage: τῇ μεν θαλασσα τραχεια και αλιμενος, τῇ δε ελος μεγα τε και βαραθρωδες. See also Pausanias, lib. vii. c. 15.

at Delphi. At a short distance from this spot we noticed the broken fragments of a wall traversing the marsh near the foot of the cliffs—an interesting feature, inasmuch as these remains indicate the site of the wall originally built by the Phocians, to oppose the incursions of the Thessalians; afterwards repaired by the Greeks at the time of the Persian invasion *; at a later period renewed and strengthened by Antiochus, when defending himself in the Pass against the Romans †; and, last of all, restored by Justinian when that monarch was labouring to secure the tottering empire by fortresses and walls ‡. This point is the most important in the topography and history of Thermopylæ. It may be considered as forming the northern entrance to the strait, and at the same time it is that part where the passage is most contracted by the projection of the rocks towards the sea. It would be difficult to compare together ancient and modern dimensions, where on one side the pass gradually declines into an impervious morass; but it must be confessed, that there is now no place where it will only admit a single chariot to pass at a time, unless we suppose that Herodotus meant to allude merely to the narrowness of the road or track which even yet is in many places extremely limited by the rocky nature of the ground underneath the cliffs. Livy, speaking of this as a military passage, states its breadth at sixty paces. I visited Thermopylæ during the wet season, and after a continuance of heavy rains for several days, and therefore my observation does not apply to the general character of the spot, but I can venture to assert, that when I was there, the distance between the rocks and the more impassable part of the morass did not in some places exceed three hundred feet. On the whole, the changes at this spot appear to be less than might have been expected from the nature of the situation, and the length of time that belongs to the history of the place.

* Herodot. lib. vii. c. 176.

† Liv. lib. xxxvi. c. 16.

‡ Procopius (De Ædif. lib. iv. c. 2.) describes the works which Justinian erected at Thermopylæ, and makes them the subject of much eulogium.

The Trachinian cliffs, or those which overhang the Pass, may be from four to six hundred feet in height at this point, but they decline in elevation towards the south. The rock is entirely an ash-coloured limestone, and presents externally a rude and broken surface of rocky masses, with the wild olive, the prickly oak, and other shrubs growing in the intervals betwixt them. At some distance to the north-west of the hot springs, and near the entrance of the pass, there is a break in the cliffs, forming the steep and rugged valley of a stream which descends from the mountains. From the description of Herodotus, there seems reason to believe that this stream is the Asopus, and the opening in the mountains that called Anopæa. The ruins of an ancient Greek fortress are seen upon a summit of rock overhanging this place, probably one of those castles mentioned by Livy in his description of the Pass.

In this part of Thermopylæ, (for the whole length of the Pass may be considered to exceed five miles,) those events occurred which have given a lasting celebrity to the spot. At the time when Xerxes advanced with his army to the northern entrance of the strait, the Greeks were stationed within the wall, and between this barrier and Anthela, the Spartans alone, under Leonidas, placing themselves in front of the wall. It was here that the Persian horsemen sent forward by Xerxes saw these men occupied in combing their hair, or in the gymnastic exercises of their country; and it was in this singular position that the two armies remained for four days in expectation of the event. The combat which commenced on the fifth, and continued during this and the following day took place on the same spot of ground; the Greeks advancing beyond their wall to meet the Persians in the most contracted part of the Pass. It is needless to speak minutely of the events which are so amply recorded by Herodotus and Plutarch, and so well known to all who feel interest in the record of former times. The Greeks perceiving themselves circumvented by the path over the mountains, which Ephialtes discovered to the Persian king, retired from the Pass, leaving only Leonidas with his Spartans and the Thespians to sacrifice themselves for their country;

The scene of combat was still the same, except that now having the certainty of death, Leonidas carried his companions forward beyond the wall and the contracted part of the Pass, and, as Diodorus relates, even into the very midst of the Persian camp *. Here the Spartan king fell; his body was the object of glorious but destructive contention to the Greeks surviving him, who seeing at length the Persians advancing in their rear retired through the entrenchments of the wall, and posted themselves on the eminence of Anthela already described. The combat now speedily came to a close, but not before every Spartan had perished on the spot. The inscribed memorials which Greece erected here to commemorate their devotion to their country have now disappeared, but the natural features of Thermopylæ remain and form a still more interesting record of the event.

This pass was a second time illustrated by the bravery of the Greeks, and particularly of the Athenians, in defending themselves against the numerous army of Gauls, under Brennus, when these barbarians were seeking to penetrate into the interior of Greece †. A third time Thermopylæ was the scene of battle, between the Romans and the army of Antiochus; the latter stationed in the place of the Greeks within the pass, and behind the Phocian wall; the Romans under their consul Acilius, attacking them from the position once occupied by Xerxes and his Persians ‡. It is worthy of notice that in each of these instances, the event was brought about by the same means as in the Persian invasion; the discovery to Brennus of a path through the mountains, obliged the Greeks to retreat, to prevent their being surrounded; and Antiochus was compelled to fly with precipitation and loss, on seeing the heights above the Pass

* Diodor. Sic. lib. xi.

† See the account of this invasion in Pausanius, lib. x. c. 49. et seq. — Previously to this time, the Athenians, sending a body of troops to Thermopylæ, had prevented Philip of Macedon from penetrating through the pass, when about to take part against the Phocians in the sacred war.

‡ Liv. xxxvi. 15. et seq. — Considering the nature of the ground, it is singular that elephants should have been employed in this contest between the Romans and Antiochus.

occupied by Roman soldiers, who under the command of M. Porcius Cato, had been secretly sent round to sieze these positions. In the reign of Justinian, the army of the Huns advanced to Thermopylæ, and discovered the path over the mountains. When the Sultan Bajazet entered Greece, towards the close of the 14th century, there appears to have been little need of these artifices to force a way through Thermopylæ; a Greek bishop, it is said, conducting the Mohammedan conquerors through the pass, to enslave the liberties of his country.

The mountain route, by which the defences of Thermopylæ have thus been rendered vain, cannot, I believe, be considered as a single path; but probably includes two or three tracks over the rocks above the Pass, which are described by ancient writers. There perhaps may be some doubt as to the actual one by which Ephialtes conducted the Persians; but the general outline of the route, and its importance to the issue of the contest, are obvious on the first inspection of the spot.*

I examined with some attention the hot springs of Thermopylæ. The water breaks out in different places at the foot of the rocks; but two spots are more remarkable than the rest, from its appearing in greater quantity, and forming small basons at its source. These basons are incrusted round with depositions from the springs; and similar depositions cover a large extent of surface, over which the water flows towards the marshes. I brought away some specimens of this incrustation, which is composed of carbonate of lime, and does not appear to contain any sensible quantity of any other earthy

* Pausanias, it may be observed, describes two mountain paths, one passing above Trachis, and extremely rugged; the other through the district of the Œnianes, and more practicable. It was by the latter, he says, that the Persians circumvented the Greeks. From this account, which perhaps, however, is not consonant with that of Herodotus, it seems possible that the opening in the mountains, along the edge of which we ascended to Leuterochori, may have been the valley of the Asopus, and the route which Ephialtes betrayed to the Persians. Procopius (De Ædif. lib. iv. c. 2.) speaks of several mountain paths, by which the Pass might be circumvented.

substance. In approaching the springs, the smell of sulphurated hydrogen is very perceptible. The water is extremely clear, but hard and distinctly saline to the taste. It comes from various openings in the rock, or in the basons which the springs have formed; at the mouth of these fissures I found the temperature to be pretty uniformly 103° or 104° Fahrenheit. From two of the springs the water is collected together, forming a considerable stream, which after turning the wheel of a mill erected within the Pass, is dispersed over the marshes below.

Half a mile to the south of the mill, the Pass is again contracted by some rugged eminences to the left of the road, intervening between the cliffs and the sea; which eminences, as well as the cliffs, are covered with shrubs and brush-wood, giving a wild, yet picturesque character to the scenery. On the highest of them stands a Derveni, or guard house, in which there are a few Albanian soldiers, stationed here for the security of the pass. Beyond this spot, there is a tumulus, which has been supposed by some to be the spot where the Greeks who fell at Thermopylæ * were buried by their countrymen. The Pass still continues towards the south, in some places extremely contracted by the approach of the sea, till beyond the village of Mola, and the site of the ancient Alpenus, it expands out into the beautiful and fertile shores, which line the Eubœan strait.

We were singularly unfortunate in the day, when we surveyed Thermopylæ. From the time we crossed the Hellada, the rain fell in torrents upon us, and the horizon was so thick, that we were unable to see the opposite coast of Eubœa, or even the summits of the cliffs immediately above us. This state of the weather prevented an examination of the Pass, as minute as I could have desired to make. In any other spot, it might have repressed all feeling connected with the memory of former events; but it was impossible that this should happen in the Pass of Thermopylæ.

* The physician Sakallarius of Ioannina gave me a copy of a short but spirited Romaic Ode, on the combat at Thermopylæ, which he had composed after visiting that spot.

Quitting this remarkable place, we pursued our route towards Leuterochori, where we designed to pass the night; a village situate among the heights of Œta, and in the line of the only practicable route across this mountain-chain. From Thermopylæ we retraced for some way our former steps; but instead of repassing the Hellada, skirted for a mile or two along the foot of the high cliffs, which are extended westward from the Pass, to form the southern boundary of the valley; and then began our ascent of the chain of Œta, by a route equally singular and interesting, but difficult and not free from danger. At first we followed a path winding upwards along a deep and thickly wooded recess in the mountains, through which a stream flowed towards the sea *. Turning them to the right, and rapidly ascending for nearly an hour, we came to the very edge of the cliffs which overhang the valley; lofty, precipitous and rugged, yet clothed with a rich profusion of wood. The view from this point of the plains of the Sperchius, of the bay, and of the chain of Othrys, was extremely magnificent; and interesting, as the last we obtained of the region of Thessaly. We now turned southwards, into the interior of the mountains; our ascent was rapidly continued, and before long, we saw only the clouds of a stormy evening rolling around and beneath us, disclosing at intervals the outline of loftier summits, entirely covered with snow. There was something of dreary wildness in our approach to Leuterochori, which may not easily be forgotten. Night was coming on, and we were enveloped by thick fogs, which now concealed all the great mountain forms that surrounded us. From the elevated situation of the place, the cold was very severe; and rendered more so by the snow and sleet falling upon us. We found the village to consist of 80 or 100 miserable cottages, scattered here and there over the rugged surface of one of the heights, and constructed rudely of mud, and stones which are found on the spot. As we entered the place

* This stream if it be not indeed the Asopus, is either the Dyras, or the Melas, mentioned by Herodotus.

we saw forty or fifty people assembled by the light of a few tapers in a wretched hovel, which we found to be the church; engaged in some of the religious ceremonies of the Christmas season. The habitation, which our Tartar selected as one of the best in the village, was scarcely accessible on horseback, from the precipitous ledges of rock, under which, as a shelter, it had been erected. It consisted of a single apartment, with naked mud-walls, and a flooring of the naked earth; one end of the room occupied by horses, the other inhabited by two large families; with no other furniture than a few wooden and earthen vessels, and the straw-mats, and woollen coats, which they used for their nightly covering.

A large fire was lighted in the middle of the apartment; and all these poor people crowded around it, with an eagerness which seemed to show that even this was a luxury they did not always obtain. There was an aspect of meagre wretchedness and of absolute privation about them which I have seldom seen equalled. Our arrival, and the ferocious manner in which our Turkish attendants broke into the house, produced at first much alarm; the eldest daughter of one of the families, who in another sphere of life, might have been a beauty, was hurried away into a neighbouring hovel; in the faces and manner of those who remained, there was silently expressed an habitual expectation of ill-usage, which it was painful to the mind to contemplate. It was the feeling of which Sterne, in his Sentimental Journey, has made so affecting a use. Some little presents we made the children, reconciled these poor people to us; and they shewed themselves grateful, when we saved the master of the family from the savage treatment of one of the *sourudze's*. When the Turks left the house at night, to sleep in an adjoining habitation, they became more easy, and to alarm succeeded a sort of familiar curiosity, much akin to that which belongs to savage life. The young woman who had been concealed at our first entrance, now appeared again, and formed one in the groupe of gazers who surrounded us. We all slept together round the embers of the fire; an assembly of fifteen people, not to speak of six or eight horses, which had their quarters at the

other end of the apartment. Our bedding excited much surprize and admiration; and we could not persuade any of the family to retire to rest on their mats and capotes, before they had witnessed every part of the preparation for our own repose.

The lofty mountain-level on which Leuterochori stands, was probably that formerly inhabited by the Œnianes*; and it was on some one of the heights in this vicinity, that Hercules is said to have kindled the fire which became his own funeral pile. The consul Acilius, after having defeated Antiochus at Thermopylæ, marched his army across the chain of Œta, to attack the Ætolians; and, in his way, halted at this spot, to offer sacrifice to the manes of the Grecian hero†. The village of Leuterochori is the private property of Ali Pasha. His power in this district seems to have been originally acquired in his office of Derveni Pasha, and now extends over all the country between the gulphs of Zeitun and Corinth.

Our route from Leuterochori towards Salona and the gulph of Corinth, was highly interesting in the nature of the scenery through which it conducted us. From this village we still continued our ascent of the chain of Œta, and attained a very great height above the level of the sea. The mountains composing this part of the chain are of the finest form; not long continued ridges, but insulated masses and summits, with profound intervening hollows, and lofty mural precipices; the higher elevations now covered with snow, but shewing to the eye extensive pine forests spread over their acclivities; and on a lower level, and in the depth of the vallies, thick woods of oak, plane, and other forest-trees. A very striking feature occurs a few miles to the south of Leuterochori, in a profound ravine, not on the ordinary scale in which we see this kind of scenery in England and Scotland, but formed by the opposition of cliffs, which cannot be less than a thousand feet in height; and having a massive boldness of form and combination, which gives the highest effect of

* Strab. lib. 9. 428. Pausan. lib. 10. † Liv. lib. 36. cap. 30.

grandeur to the eye. Beyond this again is another feature of singular magnificence. From the narrow road across one of the ridges of the chain, you look down upon a vast bason or hollow among the mountains; from the midst of which rises precipitously a majestic mass of rock, connected by a ridge with the hills behind; but appearing in itself as an insulated object, and deriving somewhat of animated existence from the boldness, with which it projects itself forward to meet the eye. The height of this cliff is very great, and it presents a single surface of rock from the summit to the base.

Every part of the chain of Œta which I saw, belongs to the great calcareous formation of Greece. The stratification of the limestone, as exhibited in its ravines and precipices, is in many places very regular and distinct. In the channels of the streams, descending from the higher points of the chains, I observed no primitive fragments; and I conclude, therefore, that the whole of this mountain groupe is similarly composed.

Our descent on the southern side of the mountains was as rapid as the ascent on the opposite side, and equally remarkable in the magnificence of the landscape that was spread before the eye. Below us lay the broad and fertile valley of the ancient Cephissus, through which this river flows in a tranquil course towards the plains of Bœotia. Beyond this valley, and forming its southern boundary, a lofty range of mountains extended in a line from north-west to south-east, rising at the latter extremity into one great mountain; the summit of which attained a height far above any others in the landscape. The situation, the magnitude and form of this, pointed it out at once as the Παρνασσος δικορυμβος, the ancient and venerable Parnassus, which we now gazed upon for the first time. A tier of clouds hung round the lower parts of the mountain, which, above this line, was seen in the form of pinnacles and vast precipices appearing among the light clouds which floated over its surface. There was the same aërial effect in this mode of viewing it, as had formerly so strongly impressed me, in looking upwards to Olympus from the village of Leuterochori.

The vale of the Cephissus is here three or four miles in width; a great part of its extent finely wooded with oaks and plane-trees. Higher up the valley, towards the sources of the river, was the region of the Tetrapolis of Doris; which Strabo says, was regarded by some as the country whence all the Dorian tribes originally sprung. There are, as I am informed, the vestiges of several ancient towns in this district; some of which may doubtless be regarded as appertaining to the four cities of Doris*, but I am unacquainted with their exact situation.

We crossed the valley to the Khan of Gravia on its southern side, where we made a meal among ten or twelve shepherds, dressed in coarse white woollen garments, and carrying each the primitive shepherd's crook. This Khan is at the entrance of a steep and narrow defile, traversing the lofty chain of mountains which runs towards the south-east, to terminate in Parnassus. This is in fact the range connecting Parnassus more immediately with the chains of Pindus, Œta, and the mountains of Locris and Ætolia; all which elevated ridges may be regarded as belonging to one great groupe, of which Pindus perhaps may be considered the central chain in direction and extent. The entrance to the pass at Gravia is formed by a very high conical mountain; the cliffs at the lower part of which are opposed to each other, leaving a ravine so narrow as in some places barely to admit the passage of a stream, and of a road rapidly ascending below the rocks; if that indeed may be called a road, which is simply a rocky staircase, rude and difficult of ascent. The cliffs are high, and for the most part perpendicular. The limestone of which they are composed, is hollowed out into numerous caves, some of which, where accessible, have been converted into the habitations of mountain-shepherds.

Ascending the pass, we found it gradually enlarging; the cliffs thrown further back from us, but still abrupt and precipitous, and

* These cities were Erineos, Boeum, Pindos or Acyphas, and Cytinium.

richly clothed with pines and cedars, forming a fine description of scenery, and on a magnificent scale. Two hours of most laborious climbing were required to conduct us to the summit of the chain; which, like many of those traversing Greece, is so near a ridge at this spot, that not a yard of plane surface intervenes between the ascent and descent. At some distance below the summit, on the southern side, we came to a point, where an opening in the mountains disclosed to us a noble view of the distant gulph of Corinth, and the high mountains of the Peloponnesus beyond; now covered, like those in the north of Greece, to a great depth, with snow.

Descending yet further, the scenery around us lost nothing of its grandeur. The road carried us along the edge of precipices and profound ravines; and the landscape was unceasingly varied by openings, either into the recesses of the mountains, or in a southerly direction towards the gulph. One point was more than commonly singular in its character. Here there is a junction of the vallies, or rather ravines, of three mountain-streams. The promontories, forming the angles at this junction, exhibit precipitous fronts of naked rock, certainly not much less than a thousand feet in height, and rendered more extraordinary by the beautiful stratification of the lime-stone composing them. The strata are pretty uniform in thickness, which does not in general exceed a few yards, and are distinctly exposed from the base to the summit of these great promontories, so as to afford the means of a rude calculation as to their total height. The stratification is not much inclined, but is very singularly broken at right angles to its direction, so as to give in various points of the profile view of the cliffs, a fine example of what might be called a *trap* formation, in the original meaning of the word. I have in general, in Greece, observed this broken stratification of limestone to be most remarkable where the rock is much impregnated with iron. At the spot I am now describing, the surface of the rock exhibits a strong red tinge, wherever it is broken, or worn into hollows.

The descent here becomes so precipitous, that for a mile the road is actually a series of stairs; the steps low and well constructed with

large paving-stones, and a wall on the right hand to protect the traveller from the precipices, along the edge of which he is passing. This place is called the *Kaka-skala*, a name very appropriate to the character of the place. The adroitness which the horses of Greece have acquired, in traversing roads of this kind, would have more astonished me, had I not formerly observed in Ireland a still greater degree of adaptation in this animal, to the circumstances of the country.

Arrived at length in the level country, at the foot of this chain of mountains, we continued an easy route to Salona, the ancient Amphissa*. The situation of this city is very fine, in a semicircular valley or basin, beneath the mountains; which valley stretches down with a gradual descent, and luxuriant surface, to the shores of the gulph of Salona, a branch of the Corinthian Gulph. An insulated hill rises out of the valley; its broken summit covered with the walls and towers of an ancient castle; the buildings of the city spread over the ascent, or collected around its base, and much intermixed with the foliage of cypresses, orange-trees, &c. which grow in gardens, or around the mosques.

Salona contains more than 800 houses, of which it is estimated that 500 are inhabited by Greeks. There are seven Greek churches in the city, and an equal number of mosques. The vallies in the neighbourhood produce grain, oil, cotton, and wine; the two former articles in sufficient quantity for a large exportation from the gulph; whence also is carried a part of the produce of wool, from the flocks on the adjoining mountains†. Salona, with nearly the whole of

* Meletius, as well as some earlier writers, have doubted this fact, and asserted that a place called Lampeni, or Lampina, represents the ancient Amphissa.

† The export of wheat from the gulph of Salona, in 1805, was estimated at about 20,000 kilos, each kilo of 55lbs.: that of barley at 80,000 kilos. Of oil 5000 barrels were exported the same year: of wool about 140,000 okes: of cotton 72,000 okes, besides a small quantity of valonia, honey, wax, &c. The total value of annual exports, in the estimate I saw, was nearly 800,000 piastres.

the northern coast of the gulph of Corinth, is subject to the power of Ali Pasha. The commandant of the city at this time was Seid Achmet, a person who, a few years before, had been sent by Ali on a mission to England, which he appears to have fulfilled with some ability. Before my return into Albania, he had been withdrawn from the command at Salona, and I saw him frequently at Ioannina. He had acquired and retained some slight knowledge of English; and his highest gratification was that of talking about his visit to England; his interview with the King, for whom he entertained a great veneration; and his intercourse with various people, whose names he preserved with a correctness which surprized me.

The lofty pine-covered mountains seen to the west of Salona, were anciently included in the territory of the western Locris; and the steep and rugged Corax, mentioned by Livy and Appian in their narratives of the Roman war with Antiochus and the Ætolians, is probably one of this groupe*. The mountains to the east of the valley are still further consecrated to history, as those of the region of Phocis. Salona, in fact, may be considered an entrance on this side into the more classical districts of ancient Greece; and the traveller here begins to tread with a more sure foot upon the monuments and vestiges of this extraordinary people.

* Liv. lib. 36. c. 30. Appian (De Bell. Syr.) calls it υψηλότατον, και δυσοδευτον, και αποκρημενον.

CHAP. XIX.

JOURNEY THROUGH THE ANCIENT PHOCIS, BŒOTIA, AND ATTICA TO ATHENS. — DELPHI. — TRIODON. — CHERONŒA. — LIVADIA. — HELICON. — MARSH OF COPAIS. — THEBES. — RUINS OF THESPIA. — FIELDS OF LEUCTRA, AND PLATEA. — CHAIN OF CITHŒRON. — VIA SACRA. — ATHENS.

THE limitation to the plan of this work, mentioned in the Preface, will lead me to pass hastily over the more classical parts of Greece, to which I have now conducted the reader. I need not, I believe, add more to the reasons I have there given. It would be an injustice to the subject, to describe, what I saw only in a very cursory manner, and during the depth of a winter of unexampled severity; and such description is further rendered superfluous by the many accounts we already have of this country, much more perfect and valuable than I should be able to give. I continue then my narrative here, merely to connect by a brief outline, the second journey I made in Albania, with my first visit to this and other districts in the north of Greece.

Urged forwards by the cold and stormy weather which had now come upon us, we travelled from Salona to Athens in eight days, a period of time, which under other circumstances would have been much too short, for a country abounding in natural beauty, and in the vestiges of ancient history and art. The first object of interest in our route, was the venerable Delphi, which though its glories of inspiration are now gone, and its temples levelled with the ground, still preserves something of sanctity in the solitary magnificence of its situation, and in the silence now resting upon places where all Greece once assembled to the solemnities of the Amphictyonic council, and to the contests of the Pythian games. The modern village of Kastri stands

upon the sacred ground, wretched in all but the scenery that surrounds it. Where the splendour of art has disappeared, that of nature has remained; and standing on the spot, one cannot but admire that taste and spirit of ancient Greece which chose for its place of national assembly one possessing so many great and imposing features. The lofty and abrupt cliffs rising behind, to form the two Delphic summits; the chasm, and Castalian fountain between these cliffs; the profound valley of the Plistus beneath, bounded on the opposite side by the mountain-ridge of Cirphis; — all these objects are still in the outline before the eye. About the Pythian cave more doubt may be entertained. Various caverns in the limestone rock may be seen at the base of the Castalian cliffs; but none which with any probability will admit of this name*. The vestiges of art, with the exception of the stadium, the tombs, and niches cut in the rock, are equally obscure, and even the site of the temple of Apollo is by no means distinctly ascertained, though some have fancied its peribolæ in an ancient wall of massive stones, which now supports the Greek church of St. Elias; while the site of the temple of Minerva has been assigned to another similar wall at the church of Pan-Agia, on the opposite side the Castalian stream. The traces of antiquity, however are every-where visible at Kastri in the fragments of marble and Greek inscriptions scattered through the village; and notwith-

* I am disposed to think that this celebrated cave has not usually been sought for in the right place. Justin, describing the situation and features of Delphi, says, "In hoc rupis anfractu, media fermè montis altitudine, planities exigua est, atque in eâ profundum terræ foramen quod in oracula patet; ex quo frigidus spiritus, vi quadam, velut vento, in sublime expulsus, mentes vatum in vecordiam vertit," &c. lib. xxiv. c. 6. This description would lead to the inference, that the Pythian cave was in the chasm at some height above the Castalian fountain; and though this situation would expose it to being filled up by fragments, or to other changes, yet I should not be surprised, considering the permanence which often belongs to such local phenomena, were an accurate search still to discover the issue of carbonic acid-gas from some place among the rocks. The production of this gas would probably be explained by supposing a gradual formation of the sulphuric acid in some natural process, and a consequent disengagement of the carbonic acid of the limestone.

standing all that Nero obtained from Delphi, it may be presumed that future excavation here will still produce much that is valuable of ancient sculpture. We saw lying on the ground, within the village, the fine remains of a colossal statue, which but two days before had been discovered in digging the foundations of a cottage.

We ascended to the summit of one of the Castalian cliffs which overhang the site of Delphi, *a woodless steep*, though Gray has otherwise pictured it, and at this time covered with snow. The highest points of these cliffs (which may be considered to form on this side the base of Parnassus,) are from six to eight hundred feet above the level of Delphi, — nearly two thousand perhaps above that of the sea. We drank of the Castalian fount; but inspiration would have been impossible with the necessity of guarding against the pollution of dirty clothes, which some ragged females of the village were washing in the sacred stream. Two Greek priests attended us in our survey of Delphi, — men who in wretchedness I could well compare with the priests of Iceland, but who entirely wanted the knowledge which is often so remarkable in the latter.

From Delphi we proceeded, amidst heavy storms of snow, up the valley of the Plistus to Arakova, a town standing on the heights of one of the mountain-chains which are sent down from Parnassus. We passed the night here with the thermometer below the freezing point, and everything around us deeply covered with snow. The next day's journey was to Davlia, the ancient Daulis, — our route a winding one among the hills at the base of Parnassus, which are still entirely calcareous, covered in places by a shale, strongly impregnated with iron, or here and there by a coarse calcareous conglomerate. Four miles from Arakova, we came to the celebrated spot of the τρεῖς κελευθοι, taken by Sophocles as the scene of the murder of Laius by Œdipus. This place could not have been better characterized to the eye of the poet than it is to that of the modern traveller. The three roads coming from Delphi, Daulis, and Livadia, meet in a craggy and unequal spot, and that towards Delphi in particular is much con-

tracted by a cliff which overhangs it. A large stone, rudely worked into form, has been set up at a short distance from the point of junction, and here a Greek who was in our train told us that one of their kings had been buried. These imperfect scraps of historical knowledge are common among the Greeks, and the stone in question may have been placed in some later time, to commemorate the supposed event.

Davlia is in a picturesque country, at the eastern foot of Parnassus. Though having now more than half circled round this great mountain, we had only once seen its summits; and it was but a fruitless labour we undertook in ascending from Davlia to the monastery of Panagia, one of the higher habitations on its eastern acclivity. We found the snows so deep, and the fogs so thick, that it was impossible to advance further than this point, which is said to be five hours journey from the summit. The Corycian cave therefore, and the wonders of the upper part of Parnassus, (the Liakoura as it is now called, from the ancient Lycorea), were entirely concealed from our observation.*

At Davlia there are ruins attesting the site of the ancient † city. Here the plains of Bœotia open out before the traveller, who looking down the broad and fertile valley of the Cephissus sees in the distance the marshy level of the Lake Copais, and still more remotely the mountains bounding the strait of the Euripus. We pursued our journey eastwards along this valley to Cheronæa, a spot signalized by the great victory which gave Greece into the hands of Philip; as

* I am not aware that the height of Parnassus has been ascertained, but it is unquestionably one of the loftiest mountains in Greece. Lucian vaguely speaks of it as being higher than Caucasus, and Olympus higher than both. The rock of Parnassus appears to be chiefly marble.

† I am not aware, however, that there are any vestiges of the temple of Minerva, mentioned by Pausanias. The description of Livy (lib. 32. c. 18.) would render it somewhat doubtful whether Daulis was exactly on the same site as the modern town, perhaps rather on one of the abrupt and lofty eminences a little to the south.

the scene of the first military exploits of Alexander; and as the birth-place of Plutarch. The ruins of this city are extensive. Massive walls of the ancient Greek structure cover and circle round the summit of a rocky hill, on the southern side of the plain; a small amphitheatre is seen, the steps of which are cut in the rock near the base of this hill, and on the level below there are numerous vestiges of buildings and fragments of marble, with several Greek * inscriptions. Nothing is here to be seen of the celebrated Theban lion of Cheronæa, but it is possibly buried under ground, and may yet reward the search of some future traveller.

The plains adjoining Cheronæa have been the scene of other battles. It was here that Onomarchus, the commander of the Phocians in the sacred war, was defeated by the Thebans; in this vicinity also, that Sylla gained a victory over Archelaus, commanding the troops of his master Mithridates.

But a few miles intervene between this place and Livadia, a city once celebrated as the site of the oracle of Trophonius, and still retaining reputation as one of the principal towns in modern Greece. Its situation is on the acclivity of a steep hill, surmounted by the remains of a fortress which is said to have been founded by the Catalans. This situation gives an air of magnificence to the houses of the town, which are reckoned at nearly 2000, many of them very large, and inhabited by wealthy and respectable Greeks. The minarets of five mosques rise from among the other buildings, but the Turkish part of the population is notwithstanding very small.

The commerce of Livadia and the adjoining country is extensive, and carried on chiefly by the gulph of Corinth †. The Greek mer-

* There is an inscription on the rock at Cheronæa which I was unable to decipher. One upon a stone forming part of the basin of a fountain near the road, relates to a certain Lytobulus, ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΟΝ; but the inscription is only in part legible.

† The principal exports from this district, which has the general name of Livadia, are wheat, barley, oats, maize, pease, cotton, wool, cheese, honey, &c. Of these wheat is the principal article, produced largely in the fertile plains of Bœotia. Its export in 1805 was

chants of the city derive great profits from the export of the produce of their lands, and are much reputed both for wealth and activity. We visited the Archon Logotheti, the principal of these, a man who lives with all the pomp of a grandee, surrounded by dependants, and in a house larger and more luxuriously furnished than any other I have seen in Greece. He married the sister of Colovo of Ioannina, but was at this time a widower, with a daughter famed in this part of Greece for her extraordinary beauty, and certainly uniting in the perfect harmony of her features every eulogium which fame could bestow. Her dress was superb, particularly in the arrangement and decorations of the hair, and in the ornaments round the waist. This young woman is since, I believe, married to the son of another wealthy Greek in Livadia. The Archon Logotheti himself is a curious specimen of aristocratic pride, struggling with the servility which arises from the political condition of his country. The power of Ali Pasha extends to Livadia in his capacity of Derveni Pasha, but it is here of a more modified kind than in Albania or Thessaly.

The most interesting feature at Livadia is a vast chasm in the limestone hills adjoining the town, in the lower part of which ravine were situated the Cave of Trophonius, the Hercynian fountain, and the fountains of Memory and Oblivion. These natural features still remain. The Hercynian fountain may be seen gushing from underneath the cliffs in a body of water, sufficient at once to form a large stream. The other two fountains equally continue to pour out their waters from hidden sources within the rocks, and their situation may perhaps be presumed to indicate that of the cave of the oracle in the adjoining cliffs, where may still be seen the niches which were once occupied by images or votive offerings. It is not, however, ascertained with certainty which was the real cave, since there are several natural or artificial hollows in the rock, and all these nearly horizontal in direction; whereas the description of Pausanias requires also some

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estimated at about 250,000 kilos, and the total value of the exports for this district the same year was reckoned at nearly 130,000*l.*

perpendicular opening, into which those consulting the oracle were obliged to descend *. Nothing now remains of the sacred wood of the oracle, which was probably in the opening of the valley below the ravine. If this were so, the approach to the cave must have been very imposing. Advancing from the plain, the stranger would pass through the grove rendered more obscure by its situation; then would enter suddenly the ravine, and at the foot of its perpendicular cliffs, where the waters of the fountains gush from the rock, would find himself at the cave of Trophonius. Of the mysterious and alarming rites by which this oracle was distinguished it is unnecessary here to speak.

While at Livadia we felt three shocks of an earthquake, rapidly succeeding each other: the first of considerable violence. They were followed soon afterwards by rain. The great limestone formation of Greece and the isles, seems particularly liable to this phenomenon of earthquakes.

We were fortunate in an accidental meeting at Livadia with M. Gropius, who at this time was on his way from Zante to Athens. We continued our journey together as far as Thebes, the distance of which from Livadia is about twenty-five miles, a route more than usually interesting, as well in its actual scenery as in the perpetual recollections it affords of ancient times. The traveller, with Pausanias as his guide, (than whom it would be difficult to find one more accurate,) will every-where recognize the site of the old Bœotian cities, and will see numerous vestiges of them as he passes over the great plains of this region, the remains of ancient walls, the fragments of marbles, inscriptions, tumuli, &c. Some ruins near a village on

* Pausanias (see his Bœotica) describes something like a balustrade surrounding the opening, and a ladder by which the descent was made into it. It is easy to conceive that in a limestone rock like that of Livadia, an earthquake, or some more gradual change may have filled up such a cavity; and it may be remarked that there is one cavern at the foot of the cliffs, near the fountain of Lethe, actually so far filled up with fragments as to preclude any entrance.

the north side of the plain of the Cephissus shew the site of Orchomenos, a city giving a title which we translate as King, somewhat unfitly for the correct understanding of history, which in many similar instances is falsely interpreted under the delusion of names. Mountainous countries, from obvious causes, are generally portioned out into smaller communities than plains; and this is particularly true in the ancient geography of Greece, where almost every valley and mountain acclivity had its respective towns or tribes, distinguished more or less from others by a difference of origin, government, or customs. These names came down to us individually from old times; and history of modern composition does not always correctly discriminate their actual magnitude, or that of the events connected with them. It requires the shelter of remote antiquity to sanction with the epithets of wars, kings, and conquests, the petty feuds of chieftains living in adjacent vallies of the same district.

Our route conducted us close to the ruins of Coronea and Onchestus, two others of the Bœotian cities *. Every-where, indeed, the vestiges of ancient population are scattered over this country, and scarcely a peasant at his plough but can offer a little collection of coins which he has gathered from the soil he tills. Our journey was rendered agreeable by fine and frosty weather, succeeding to the storms of the previous days; and except that a fog, according to old Bœotian usage, hung over the lower part of the plains and the marsh Copais, we had on every side of us a clear and splendid landscape. The great outline of Parnassus was now seen distinctly in its whole extent, and we had a new and interesting feature in the chain of Mount Helicon, which lying on our right hand, formed the southern boundary of the plain for the greater part of the way between Livadia and Thebes. There is something remarkably picturesque and graceful in the form of this ridge, what might fit it to the imagin-

* In this part of the plain is a large tumulus, partly perhaps natural, but artificially levelled on the summit. May this have been the site of the temple of Apollo known to have existed in this vicinity?

ation as an abode of the muses, when they quitted the loftier heights of Pindus and Parnassus. Helicon has itself indeed the grandeur of height and steepness, but it is a grandeur softened to the eye by the figure of the cliffs and intervening hollows, by the woods which still cover them as in ancient times*, and by the beautiful slopes which connect the cliffs with the plains at their feet. This character was not even lost at the present time, when the approach of winter had already covered with snow more than half the height of the mountain.

The Lake Copais, as it is called, is now what it was formerly, an extensive morass, partly cultivated, partly covered with shallow pools of water. There can be little doubt that it was once a lake, like the lower plain of Thessaly; but, unlike the latter, it appears to have been in great measure laid dry by the industry of man, in providing channels for the egress of the waters. Many villages may be seen upon its banks, or on knots of rising ground which rise from amidst the marsh. The plains between Livadia, Orchomenos, and Copais, are esteemed the finest in Bœotia, and produce a large quantity of grain, rice, and cotton. The Cephissus winds through them, a tranquil stream, the borders of which still produce those reeds which Plutarch commends for the excellence of the lutes they afford †. Altogether the landscape here corresponds well with the ancient description of Bœotia, and the epithets given to it by poets and other writers.

Sixteen or eighteen miles from Livadia, we traversed a ridge of hills which separate the plains of the Cephissus and Copais from that of Thebes. This rocky pass is reputed as the one where the Sphinx proposed his perilous questions to the traveller, and there is much reason to believe that it was the spot meant by Sophocles as the scene of this story. The view from the higher level of this pass is extensive and magnificent, and very interesting in a geographical point of view.

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* "Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris." Hor. lib. i. od. 12.

† In Vit. Syllæ. Plutarch also speaks of the richness of the plain about Orchomenos.

We proceeded along the great plain of Thebes to the city, which is seen at the distance of many miles, covering the sides and summit of a low hill, a spot venerable from an historical antiquity of more than 3000 years. The name may be considered as still preserved, — the modern pronunciation of *Theva* being merely a change arising out of the Romaic sound of the letter B. The effect upon the imagination of the traveller from the many great names and events which history connects with this spot, and from the living reality of the scenery around it, is scarcely even removed by the wretched aspect of the modern town, an assemblage of five or six hundred ill-built houses, irregularly disposed, two Turkish mosques, and several small Greek churches, the latter exhibiting a strange motly appearance in the rude mixture of modern building, with fragments of columns and other sculptured marbles, the relics of the ancient Thebes. The house of the Vaivode is the only considerable building in the place. The Bazar forms a small square in the centre of the town, but its shops are scantily provided, and there is that general air of indolence and neglect which belongs to most places where the Turkish population is predominant. Yet Thebes is said to be at this time somewhat increasing in size, and several groupes of mud-built cottages now appear upon what was once the site of the lower city, described by Pausanias to have been in ruins at the age when he wrote.

The remains of antiquity in Thebes are externally less conspicuous than most of the other great cities of Greece, and even with the minute details of Pausanias, it is difficult to make out the position of the seven gates, or of the numerous temples which adorned the city. Three or four places, indeed, may be pointed out within or around the modern town, where from the form of the ground, and the numerous fragments of columns and marbles, it may be presumed that certain of these temples stood; and I doubt not that when circumstances shall allow of excavation here, much will be found to repay research, even though the Mercury of Phidias or the Minerva of Scopias should never again be restored to light. One of these spots is the small Greek church of St. Luke, on an eminence close to

the town; now itself in ruins, but containing various sculptured marbles, which have thus doubly gone to decay. Another church, to the south of the town, also in a ruinous state, contains similar vestiges of an ancient temple. Many Greek inscriptions are visible, as well in these places as in other parts of the city; but more interesting, because more definite objects are the fountains of Dirce and Ismenus; the former at the entrance from Livadia, and probably near the site of the Crenean Gate; the latter about half a mile to the south-east of the city. The fountain of Ismenus forms a small pool, through which a body of water gushes from the rock, forming at once a considerable stream. This phenomenon, as I have elsewhere observed, is very common in every part of the limestone formation of Greece.*

At Thebes the authority of Ali Pasha began to fail us; and with all the activity of our Tartar, we were exposed to difficulties here, which had not equally occurred in other parts of our journey. The town itself is subject to the government of the Pasha of the Negropont; and the absence of the Vaivode, who was attending his superior, threw us into the house and hands of a knavish Greek, who is familiarly known here by the name of Nicholachi, and whose repute is of a very low kind. We remained at Thebes two days, and in making our excursions around the town, were favoured by clear frosty weather, with the thermometer at eight *a.m.* at 29° and 30°. Cold, as well as a dense foggy atmosphere, was one of the characteristics of Bœotia in old times, a conjoint effect of the marshes and lofty chains of mountains which occupy this region. The moral effect, attributed to these circumstances, is perhaps less distinctly marked than formerly, in the comparison of the Bœotians, with other Greeks, all being now subject to a common bondage. Yet in the

* The rock at Thebes appears to be in great part a calcareous conglomerate; and judging from the fragments, it seems that the walls of the ancient edifices of the city were chiefly composed of this rock, and even many of the columns of the temples. The effect must have been greatly inferior to that of the Pentelic marble.

passage from Bœotia to Attica the change is very striking; and on the dry soil, and under the temperate climate of the latter district, the traveller finds a people more gay, animated, and vivacious than their countrymen, either of the Bœotian or Thessalian plains.

The stranger in Bœotia, from whatsoever side he come, can scarcely fail of being struck with the beauty of the females in this country, and with a general style of feature which approaches more to the *beau ideal*, than any other I recollect to have seen. Such observations, it is true, are often founded upon partial instances; but here I believe it is not so; and the traveller, who for some time will watch over the Hercynian fountain at Livadia, or that of Dirce at Thebes, will find this statement confirmed even by the appearance of the common washer-women who frequent these places. The dress of the female peasants in the villages is on the whole pleasing, though it may require some effort to be satisfied with the ornaments of paras and other coins attached to the head; sometimes actually forming a cap for it; in other instances, hanging down in long strings among the hair. This fashion is practised even with girls who can scarcely walk; and I have often been asked by mothers, who were ashamed to beg on their own account, for some coins to append to the head of their little daughters. The amount of this finery increases as they grow up; and a young female peasant, when old enough to be married, may fairly be said to carry her dowry in her dress.

We left Thebes on the last day of the year, deviating from the direct road to Athens to visit the ruins of Thespia, and the celebrated fields of Leuctra and Platea. Our company for a part of the way to Thespia, was a drunken Dervish going to Livadia, whose vehement gestures, loud speech, and idiotical laughter, surprized, and sometimes almost startled us. Following the course of a long and retired valley, with the eastern extremity of Helicon in front of us, we came to the ruins of Thespia, scattered over an extensive surface of ploughed land, but presenting no individual remains of any importance. Some of the fragments of marbles are irregularly placed in two small ruined buildings which have probably been Greek churches, constructed

from the remains of more ancient edifices. In one of these I found a marble, having upon it an inscription, in which the words "Praxiteles Athenaios" immediately struck me, and which is further singular from the division of the surface into small squares, each square on the alternate line containing a single letter. The inscription, as far as it was legible, stood thus: —

Α	Ρ	Χ	Ι	Α																		
Θ	Ρ	Α	Σ	Τ	Μ	Α		Ο	Ν	Χ	Α	Ρ	Μ		Δ	Α	Ο	Τ	Ο	Ι	Σ	Ο
						Π	Ρ	Α	Ξ	Ι	Τ	Ε	Λ	Η	Σ	Α	Θ	Η	Ν	Α	Ι	Ο	Σ

The name of Praxiteles, in connection with Thespia, is interesting; since it is well known that the celebrated Cupid of this artist, which he himself considered the finest of his works, was presented to the Thespians. We learn from Cicero, that it was common to go to Thespia for the sole purpose of seeing this statue.*

The situation of Thespia is rendered agreeable by the vicinity of Helicon, which here, as from most other points of view, is extremely picturesque in its outline. In proceeding to Leuctra, which is only a few miles distant, the neighbouring chain of Cithæron began to rise on the right hand; which, continuing in an easterly direction, forms the general boundary between Bœotia and Attica. The field of Leuctra, ennobled in history by the memory of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, is less distinct in its features than that of Platea, where we arrived in less than two hours afterwards; so closely adjoining each other are

* The reader will recollect the anecdote of the mistress of Praxiteles, who, to ascertain the comparative estimation in which he held his own works, created a false alarm of fire, by which Praxiteles was brought forwards, crying out "that his Cupid should be saved." This statue is said to have been afterwards transferred to Rome by Nero, and actually destroyed there by fire.

these two celebrated scenes of Grecian prowess, against the barbarians, and against each other. At Platea, the positions of the two armies during the many days which preceded the battle; and the various points in the battle itself are determined with considerable exactness by the course of the Asopus,—by the small meadow island of Œroe, formed between two branches of this river,—by the ruins of the city of Platea; and by the ridges and ravines of Mount Cithæron rising above it. The situation of the camp of Mardonius, on the northern side the river, is likewise indicated generally by the nature of the ground; and we may, perhaps, consider a spring in this vicinity, near to the Asopus, as the representative of the fountain of Gargaphia, often alluded to in the narrative of the battle.* I must agree, however, with Mr. Hobhouse's commentary on the field of Platea, that it is difficult or impossible to look over this place without believing that history has exaggerated the number of the combatants. Applying the details of Herodotus to the local features, it seems incredible that a multitude, much greater even than the force in modern battles, should have been assembled on a space of ground, narrow and defined like that between the Asopus and the heights of Cithæron. I do not believe that any reference to the tactics of Greek or Persian armies will obviate this difficulty.

The city of Platea, twice destroyed by the enmity and superior power of the Thebans, nevertheless exhibits at this day more external vestiges of its ancient state, than is the case with its former rival. The outline of the walls which are of the ancient Greek structure, is every-where distinct, and in many places they have still a height of 20 or 25 feet above the ground. The circumference of the city, as there defined, must have been somewhat more than a mile and a half. The area is filled with fragments and ruins, some of which, as at Thebes and Thespia, have been employed in the

* It appeared to me, by a comparison at that time, that the map of this ground, given in the travels of Anacharsis, is not one of great accuracy.

construction of a Greek church, now also gone to decay. The stone here, like that of the two places just mentioned, is chiefly a calcareous conglomerate. The situation of Platea was fine; on the rising ground above the Asopus, with the woody ridge of Cithæron rising behind, commanding an extensive view of the plains of Bœotia, and of the great mountain ranges, which bound this part of Greece.

We passed the night at a small village called Kochli, near the ruins; our place of lodging being an apartment into which were crowded, besides our own party, a large family of all ages, two horses, nine oxen, and two asses. The inhabitants of Kochli, as well as of other villages in this vicinity, are of Albanian descent, and chiefly speak the Albanese language. The females of this district are dressed in a pleasing manner; their outer garment being of white woollen stuff, with deep red borders, and with tassels and other appendages of the same colour.

The new-year's-day of 1813, was signalized to us by our arrival at Athens. At 5 in the morning, we quitted Platea, and by the aid of torches carried before us, ascended over rugged paths towards the summit of Cithæron. Darkness was still spread over the plains of Bœotia; but looking back upon them, we saw moving lights here and there, and found that these came from the husbandmen who had already begun the labours of the plough. Crossing the snowy summit of Cithæron, under the dawning of a magnificent day, (the thermometer here was at 28°) we entered Attica, not far from the ancient town of Eleuthera, the ruined walls of which encircle a rugged hill to the left of the road. Hence for two or three hours we travelled through a hilly irregular country, the mountains composed of a coarse marble, covered with forests of pine, but very bare of other vegetation. Leaving the defiles and narrow vallies of these hills, we came upon the great Thriasian plain, at the head of the Eleusinian Gulph; the waters of which bay intercepted by the isle of Salamis, and the line of the Attican coast, were spread before us like a great lake, the forms of the mountains and isles reflected on their

placid surface. In the arid and unfruitful soil of this plain, we already recognized one feature of the ancient Attica.

Crossing this long level, and leaving Eleusis to the right hand, we entered upon the Via Sacra, the road by which the great processions passed from Athens to the temple of Ceres at Eleusis. It conducted us first under the cliffs upon the shore; then by a rapid ascent between the hills Ægaleon and Corydalus, names long since familiar to the ear.* We passed the picturesque monastery of Daphne, conjectured as the site of the temple of Apollo, which once stood in this pass; half a mile beyond, caught a view of the upper part of the plain of Athens; and a few minutes afterwards, in coming to a break in the hills, heard our Tartar shout with a loud voice, "*Athena, Athena!*" The intimation was needless. We already had the sacred city before our eyes; noble in its situation, noble in its ruins, and in the recollection it gives of antient times and antient men. It was now the latter part of the day, and the setting sun (the first setting sun of 1813) threw a gleam of light on the western front of the Acropolis, and on the splendid groupe of buildings which covers its summit. Already the Parthenon was discernible pre-eminent over the rest; the city of Athens was seen spread over a great extent below; the chain of Hymettus beyond; more immediately beneath us the great plain and olive-groves of Athens, conducting the eye in one direction to the lofty summits of Pentelicus, on the other to the Piræus, to Salamis, Ægina and the other isles of the gulph, and to the mountains of the Peloponnesus in the remote distance. It is a landscape of the most extraordinary kind, such as might strongly interest the stranger, even without the aid of these associations, which every part of the scenery so amply affords.

We descended from the pass of the Sacred Way into the plain, traversed the venerable wood of Olives which occupies its central

* The rock in these hills is marble, much intersected by contemporaneous veins of calcareous spar.

part; crossed the small and divided stream of Cephissus, and at five o'clock entered the city by the gate, near to the temple of Theseus. The English, more than any other people, have cultivated the ancient, through the modern Athens, and one of the first persons we saw in approaching the place, was an Englishman, looking over an excavation which had been made for the purposes of research.

CHAP. XX.

ATHENS.—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE PLACE.—ITS MEMORIALS OF ANTIQUITY.—SCENERY AROUND THE CITY.—CLIMATE.—CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION.—MARATHON.—PENTELICUS.—MINERALOGICAL REMARKS.—DEPARTURE FOR THE PELOPONNESUS.—ELEUSIS.—MEGARA.—CORINTH.—NEMEA.—MYCENÆ.—ARGOS.—TRIPOLITZA.—CALAVRITA.—PATRAS.—PASSAGE TO ZANTE.

WE remained at Athens till nearly the end of January. I do not attempt to describe this celebrated spot, either in its ancient or modern features. The labours of travellers during the last century, and especially within the last few years, have done so much to illustrate these subjects, that all I could say would be but the repetition of facts already known. Richly as Athens merits all the talents of the antiquarian and artist, and all the feelings of the enthusiast in former times; it must be confessed that the field is not a neglected one, and that abundant materials of art and knowledge have been drawn from this copious source of ancient treasures. Copious it may indeed be called, since research here is still amply productive; and the traveller who can afford some time and expence, may himself bring these treasures to light, even without exciting controversy as to the destruction of temples, or the defacement of the memorials of ancient grandeur.

Those who expect to see at Athens only the more splendid and obvious testimonies of its former state, will find themselves agreeably mistaken in the reality of the scene. It may be acknowledged that the Parthenon, the Theseum, the Propylœa, the temple of Minerva Polias, &c., are individually the most striking of the objects occurring here; yet it may perhaps be added that they have been less interest-

ing singly, than in their combined relation to that wonderful grouping together of nature and art, which gives its peculiarity to Athens, and renders the scenery of this spot something which is ever unique to the eye and recollection. Here, if any where, there is a certain genius of the place which unites and gives a character and colouring to the whole; and it is further worthy of remark, that this *genius loci* is one which most strikingly connects the modern Athens with the city of former days. Every part of the surrounding landscape may be recognized as harmonious and beautiful in itself; and at the same time as furnishing those features, which are consecrated by ancient description, by the history of heroic actions; and still more as the scene of those celebrated schools of philosophy, which have transmitted their influence to every succeeding age. The stranger, who may be unable to appreciate all the architectural beauties of the temples of Athens, yet can admire the splendid assemblage they form in their position, outline, and colouring; can trace out the pictures of the poets in the vale of Cephissus, the hill of Colonos, and the ridge of Hymettus; can look on one side upon the sea of Salamis, on the other upon the heights of Phyle; and can tread upon the spots which have acquired sanctity from the genius and philosophy, of which they were once the seats. The hill of the Areopagus, the Academy, the Lycæum, the Portico, the Pnyx, if not all equally distinct in their situation, yet can admit of little error in this respect; and the traveller may safely venture to assert to himself, that he is standing where Demosthenes spoke to the Athenians, and where Plato and Aristotle addressed themselves to their scholars. Nowhere is antiquity so well substantiated as at Athens, or its outline more completely filled up both to the eye and imagination.

The impressions of this nature, which the traveller obtains, derive much vividness from the number of minute vestiges surrounding him; and these are often even more striking to the fancy than the greater memorials of ancient art. Every point in and around Athens abounds with such vestiges; — the fragments of columns, sculptured marbles,

and Greek inscriptions. Scarcely a single house but affords some of these remains, more or less mutilated; yet all with some interest annexed to them, as the representatives of a past age. This familiarity and frequency with which classic names and images are brought before the eye, cannot fail of interesting the attention; and it forms one of the most striking circumstances to the stranger in Athens.

The character of the landscape around the city is very peculiar, even without reference to any of the features that have been described. There is a certain simplicity of outline and colouring, combined with the magnificence of form and extent, which contributes much to this particular effect. It cannot be called a rich scenery, for the dry soil of Attica refuses any luxuriance of vegetation; and, excepting the great olive-grove of the plain, little wood enters into the landscape. Yet one of its most striking features is a sort of repose, which may be derived from the form of the hills, from their slopes into the plain, and from the termination of this plain, in the placid surface of the gulph of Salamis; above all, perhaps, from the resting point which the eye finds in the height of the Acropolis, and in the splendid groupe of ruins covering its summit. In this latter object there is a majestic tranquillity, the effect of time and of its present state, which may not easily be described, so as to convey an idea of the reality of the spot. The stranger will find himself perplexed in fixing on the point of view whence the aspect of these ruins is most imposing, or their combination most perfect with the other groupes which surround them.*

The situation and outline of Hymettus add much to the beauty of

* The tinge of yellowish red, which has been taken in part by the marble of these temples, gives a peculiarity which may be considered perhaps to add to their effect. This discoloration arises from the iron in the marble, or in the mica, which forms a part of it. It is said, and it seems to me accurately, that the discoloration is less on those surfaces which are directly opposed to the sea. The cause may be, that the saline particles of the sea atmosphere are constantly yielding a small portion of muriatic acid to the oxide of iron, which is thus insensibly carried away as it is formed.

the scenery around Athens, as well as the summits of the mountains of Pentelicus, which terminate the landscape towards the east. The three ports of the city are still perfectly distinct, and there are many vestiges of the town of the Piræus; but these objects are on too small a scale to detain the eye, which passes forwards to Salamis, Ægina, and the other isles of the gulph, and to the mountains of the Isthmus of Corinth, and of the Peloponnesus, in the remote distance.

Some part of the peculiarity of this scenery may perhaps be derived from the climate of Attica, which affords an atmosphere for the most part clear, dry, and temperate; very different from that which hangs over the low plains and marshes of Bœotia. The peninsular situation of Attica and the nature of the surface both contribute to this effect. The temperature at Athens is more uniform than in other parts of Greece, and the quantity of rain falling here below the general average of this country. A few details on this subject are given in the subjoined note*. It may certainly be supposed that

* I learn from M. Fauvel that the average annual quantity of rain at Athens is 21 or 22 inches. Between the middle of October 1812 and the 1st of January 1813, the quantity did not exceed 2½ inches, a circumstance singular at this season of the year, and considering the heavy rains that fell during the same period in the more northern parts of Greece. From the same gentleman, and from Signore Vitali, one of the physicians of the city, I obtained a few observations as to the maximum and minimum of temperature in different years. In 1804, the greatest heat was on the 24th of July, equal to 104° of Fahrenheit; but this at Athens is a very uncommon temperature. In 1805, the maximum was 99° on the 4th of August. In 1806 and 1807 the temperature never rose above 93° or 94°. The minimum in these different years varied from 28° to 32°. In 1812, the year preceding my arrival, the general temperature had been rather low than otherwise. On the 28th of April snow was lying on Parnes and Hymettus, the thermometer in the city standing at 52°. On the 5th of July it was at 93°, and reached the same height on the 10th of August. On the 21st of September, the heat was at 68°, on the 29th of September at 61°; and at this average height of about 60° it continued during the whole of October. During the month of January, which we passed at Athens, the average of the thermometer at 8 *a.m.* did not exceed 40°: the highest point at which I observed it was 50°, the lowest at the same hour 33°. After our departure, however, the cold became more severe; and what is very uncommon, the snow lay three or four days within the city. The coldest weather at Athens is usually with a north-east wind, as is perhaps the case generally throughout Greece.

the nature of the climate here has an influence on the aspect under which its scenery and ruins are given to the view. The state of the modern Athens does not appear, until lately, to have been generally known to the rest of Europe. Fancy has drawn for itself a wretched village, with houses scattered among the ruins of temples; and few before this time have looked for a large and flourishing town, well peopled, and containing many excellent houses, with various appendages belonging to the better stage of cultivated life. Yet all this will be found here; and on the identical spot which in old times was occupied by the sacred city of Minerva; the name preserved, and a multitude of other circumstances to aid the impression which brings together ages thus remote in reality.

I describe these as the more general impressions which Athens is likely to convey in its exterior character. The place has its peculiarities also in a moral point of view, as to what respects the manners and condition of its inhabitants. Though of the twelve thousand composing its population it is probable that a fifth part are Turks, and the governors both of the town and Acropolis are of this nation; yet the character of the city is principally defined by its Greek population, and all the effective power of the place is lodged with this class of the inhabitants. This is chiefly perhaps in consequence of Athens not being subject to a provincial Turkish government, but annexed to a particular office of the Seraglio at Constantinople. It may in part, however, be attributed to the character of the Greeks of the city; and it is interesting to remark that some of the features belonging to this people are those which were among the most characteristic of the ancient Athenians. They are noted, even in the proverbial sayings of their own countrymen, for quickness, vivacity, and disposition to intrigue; and this, although their limited commerce gives them fewer opportunities of travelling, and their literary cultivation is much inferior to that of the Greeks of Ioannina, and of the eastern districts of Thessaly. Scarcely a single modern Romaic work has come from the pen of an Athenian; and I have found few of the Greeks so scantily informed of the ancient condition of their country as are the

people of this city, notwithstanding their frequent intercourse with travellers from the west of Europe.

Still the fact is true, that the Athenians of this day furnish various striking memorials of their ancestors, whether it be that this is determined by climate, or by something of generic character in the race, which has been able to oppose itself to the lapse of time, and to the changes in political state. The scale indeed is now greatly reduced, but in the internal administration of the city, may still be found the intrigue and cabals, the same democratic spirit and fluctuating feelings which meet us every-where in the former history of Athens. The election and functions of the four Archons, and the various schemes for limiting or directing the power of the Turkish Vaivode, are now the principal objects of political attention; and these things serve to keep alive the active spirit of the population, and furnish a basis for party spirit and private feuds. A rude resemblance of Pericles still walks the streets of Athens, in the person of one of the Archons, a man now advanced in age, but whose faculties are still fully awake, and who by dint of intrigue, plausible manners, and knowledge of mankind, has long maintained a paramount authority in the place. This authority, which extends to Turks as well as Greeks, is externally concealed, but not on this account the less real in its effects.*

The state of society in Athens is distinguished from that of other parts of Greece, by its greater vivacity and freedom from restraint. In this circumstance also there will be seen some affinity to the habits of the ancient Athenians, though it must be owned that the probable causes are peculiar in part to modern times. The feebleness of the Turkish government here has contributed much to this effect; still more perhaps the constant residence of foreigners in the city. The influence of the latter circumstance is distinctly seen in various habits

* I learn that soon after we left Athens a certain degree of change was effected in the government of the city, rendering annual the election of the Archons, and thereby making the *constitution* more democratic.

and feelings of the people, and has been considerably extended of late years, by the direction which English travellers have taken during their exclusion from other parts of the continent. There is a certain festivity about Athens which does not equally belong to any other Greek town; the oppression of slavery is less visibly present, and is actually felt in a smaller degree by the inhabitants. Even the Turks here seem to have lost something of their harshness, and become a people of quiet and inoffensive habits. From whatsoever part of Turkey the traveller may arrive, he finds himself coming to a sort of home, where various comforts may be obtained that are unknown elsewhere in this country. Society is more attainable, and the Greek females enter into it in general with much less restraint than in Ioannina or other Greek towns.

It is not surprising then, that Athens should have been selected as a place of abode by travellers and artists, conjoining, as they may here, an agreeable residence with the study of the finest remains of antiquity. Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, may almost always be found among the inhabitants of Athens, — the first, however, generally in a tenfold proportion to the others, and taking Athens as a centre or resting place to more extensive research. The few French residents are chiefly old Levant merchants; the consul of this nation, M. Fauvel, is well known by his long abode here, and his industry and ingenuity in various objects of research. The Germans living in Athens are principally artists, employed in Greece in this capacity by different German courts. Of the Italian residents, Signore Lusieri is the only one devoted to objects of art; the remainder either exercise the medical profession, or belong to some inferior station in life. The agreeableness of the place is of course much increased by this Frank population, many of them incidentally brought together with common objects of enjoyment and research.

We were extremely fortunate in finding at Athens at this time, the Honourable Frederic North; who had returned hither some weeks before, after passing the preceding year in Egypt and Syria.

A society, always valuable, was singularly so in this place; where Mr. North is regarded by all the inhabitants, with feelings which are rarely given to the passing traveller *. Through the kindness of this gentleman, we speedily became acquainted with much of the society of Athens, and this acquaintance was greatly extended by the many people who sought medical advice from me, particularly during the last fortnight of our stay in the city. Among my patients here, I was enabled to reckon the Turkish Vaivode, two of the Greek Archons, and different individuals in the families of the other Archons, besides various persons of respectable Greek family, though not thus titled in office. A further introduction to Athenian society was afforded us by a ball, which Mr. North gave at this time to the inhabitants. This was not a new amusement to them, as they had frequently been indebted to their English visitors for similar entertainments. The ball in question was attended by more than 90 Athenians, among whom were between thirty and forty ladies, all habited in the Greek fashion, and many of them with great richness of decoration. The dance of the Romaika, which I have elsewhere described, occupied the greater part of the evening; mixed at intervals with the Albanitiko; which was here refined into somewhat less of wildness, than belongs to the native dance. The spectacle was altogether curious and amusing; not less so the preparation and surmises which preceded the ball, and the scandal of various kinds which followed it; similar in reality to that which happens on less

* Mr. North's merits as a scholar, and his intimate knowledge of modern Greek literature, have even done less in connecting him with Greece, than his intercourse with the people of this country, and the reputation for generous and enlightened liberality, he has every-where left behind him. This is especially true with respect to Athens, where he has aided in various ways the public interests of the place, and at the same time obtained the affection of the inhabitants by numerous acts of individual kindness.

We were fortunate also in meeting here the mission of the Dilettanti Society, at this time on their return from the coasts of Ionia. The valuable results obtained by Sir W. Gell and his associates, as well in Asia Minor as in Greece, are now on the point of being given to the literary world.

classical ground; differing only in the names, and other minor circumstances of national custom.*

Among other excursions from Athens, we did not neglect the celebrated plain of Marathon; distant about 22 miles from the city, on the opposite coast of the peninsula. The distinct memorials which are still afforded by the stones, erected where the Athenians fell;—by the outline of the valley, where is now the village of Vranna; and by the marshes into which the Persians were precipitated in their flight, cannot fail of being interesting to the observer. It may fairly be said of Marathon, that there are few modern fields of battle, which better authenticate history, or more entirely explain the events which happened on their surface.

In the expedition we made to Marathon, we included the mountains of Pentelicus; a lofty groupe, and picturesque in their forms; interesting also as affording the great quarries of marble, from which the Athenians raised their noblest monuments of art. We visited these quarries, and penetrated to the extremity of the deep caverns which run into the rocks at this place. The highest point in the Pentelicus groupe, forms a sugar-loaf cone, which rises to a great height above the level of the sea. These mountains are further interesting, as they illustrate the geological relations of the marble of this district, in its junction with the mica-slate, which lies beneath, as a basis to these elevated points of primitive limestone. The geology of Attica at large is extremely interesting, and would probably well reward the enquiry of the naturalist, who may have time to give his attention to this object.†

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* Another spectacle of a different kind, which I saw for the first time in Athens, was the dance of the Dervishes. This strange religious ceremony, which has often been described by travellers, is practised here twice each week in the ancient Temple of the Winds. It is a singular compound of solemnity, and uncouth fanatical wildness; which in parts may even be thought interesting; — more frequently is disgusting or ridiculous.

† I cannot here do more than give a few scanty remarks on the mineralogy of this district, which possibly, however, may be of some little avail to future research.

Almost all the ranges of hill, which traverse Attica, are composed of primitive lime-

It was reluctantly that we departed from Athens, on our return through the Morea to the Ionian Isles. It was now the depth of

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stone, of which that of Pentelicus is perhaps the most perfectly granular, and certainly of the purest whiteness. That of Hymettus is of inferior quality, and for the most part of a blueish or blackish grey colour, traversed also, as it seems, by more numerous veins. The rock of the Acropolis, of Anchesmus, and of other eminences surrounding Athens, is still of inferior quality, and much worn into caves, which everywhere exhibit a surface, strongly tinged with oxide of iron. I have not actually seen the marble of Mount Parnes, but it probably may resemble that of Icarius and Corydalus, already alluded to.

This marble formation evidently reposes upon one of mica slate, which appears in various places near Athens, and still more remarkably in the Pentelic mountains. The strata of slate may be seen cropping out in some small eminences, a mile to the west of the city, near the road to the Piræus. I have observed them again without the walls, on the side of Colonos; they became more remarkable in the Pass between the greater and lesser Anchesmus, where the road to Marathon passes between rocks of very contorted stratification. Vestiges of this mica slate formation will also be found in the channel of the Ilissus, not far from the Stadium; the rock in most of these places, however, being a good deal decomposed.

On the eastern side of Pentelicus, I traced the mica slate upwards from the monastery of Mendele, to within 300 yards of the quarries, where the great mass of marble appears reposing upon it.

The general character of the strata is highly inclined; in one place where I measured the inclination, I found it from 50° to 60°. The transition to the marble appears to be gradual, and I could not observe any where a decided line of junction. The marble near the slate contains much mica, and this is gradually lessened in rising higher up the mountain. Even in the marble of the quarries, however, it still appears, and may be seen in that of the broken columns of the Parthenon at Athens. I remarked at Pentelicus, that the slate, where much mixed with marble, has very frequently a greenish colour, resembling chlorite. It does not abound in garnets, though I observed some small ones. The same formation of mica slate appears on the other side of the Pentelic mountains, extending down to the plains of Marathon and the sea. Some serpentine also occurs on this coast, as well as on the range of Hymettus. The connection of these formations, with those formerly noticed along other parts of the east coast of Greece, will at once be observed.

Some singular appearances occur a little to the west of Athens, near the road to the Piræus, where an eminence of limestone will be seen, with an extraordinary broken aspect, and traversed by two or three veins, filled with calcareous matter, which is

winter; and we could not venture to form any lively anticipations of pleasure, even from the scenery of the antient Arcadia, through which our route lay. The commencement of this winter had been of more than common severity, and its progress unfortunately corresponded with these early appearances. Our Tartar Osmyn had quitted us at Athens, on his return to Ioannina; and we now were attended by a Janissary, a man of quiet manners, and who proved of very little service to our journey. The Morea, however, has of late been so much traversed, that such an appendage becomes here less necessary to those who are already familiar with the usages of Turkish travelling.

We proceeded from Athens to Eleusis by the Sacred Way, passing the salt-pools mentioned by Pausanias, which still retain their ancient qualities. The modern Eleusis is a wretched place, and until lately afforded few vestiges of its former magnificence; but the recent labours of Sir W. Gell have restored, by excavation, the plan of the great temple of Ceres, as well as the Propylæa, and the smaller temple of Diana in the vicinity of it; — an investigation which afforded many interesting results.

The road from Eleusis to Megara conducted us along the woody cliffs which border the strait between the mainland and the isle of Salamis, a route deriving much picturesque beauty from the broken and irregular outline of these shores. We must have passed, in some part of our way, the spot where Procrustes is said to have tortured his victims; but I did not observe any thing which could afford a local illustration of this story. Passing to the south of the mountain called Kerata, from its two-peaked summits, we came to the

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tinged by iron of various shades, and contains here and there many quartz fragments. On the coast at the Piræus, there occurs a very recent calcareous formation, containing shells.

I regret that I had not the opportunity of visiting Laurium, and of examining the rocks, in which were the ancient mines of this district.

plain and town of Megara; the latter distant from Athens about twenty-four miles. The very frequent preservation of the ancient names in Greece, is a circumstance adding much to the interest the traveller feels in this country. In approaching Athens, we had passed through Livadia and Thebes; we now quitted it by the route of Eleusis, Megara, Corinth, and Argos; all these places named at present as they were in the most ancient times of Greece.

Megara contains about 400 houses; singular from being all flat-roofed. I have seen few places in Greece where there are so many inscriptions scattered on the ground and in the walls of houses, as in this town. On an eminence to the east of the place, are the vestiges of an extensive building, among which we found a sepulchral marble, with some basso-relievo figures upon it, of considerable merit in the execution.

Our next stage was to Corinth, distant from Megara about thirty miles. The road is one of the greatest interest in its scenery and associations, particularly where, having past the Derveni, or guarded pass, the traveller ascends the lofty ridge of mountains, anciently called Geranion; and at their summit finds himself on a pinnacle between the Corinthian and Saronic gulphs; the celebrated Isthmus of Corinth lying directly beneath him; a thousand objects of classical name lining the shores of the gulphs, or appearing in the landscape further removed from the coast. There are few points in Greece which illustrate at once the history of so many events in past ages. The ridge of Geranion is further interesting, as forming, in its position across the northern extremity of the Isthmus, the great natural barrier of the Peloponnesus, — a barrier which may still perhaps be important at some future time, in asserting the liberties of a part of modern Greece.*

* The Geranion mountains, in some places, attain a height of probably not less than 2500 feet. They are extremely picturesque in their outline, especially near the Corinthian gulph, where their descending cliffs form deep semicircular bays, with luxuriant woods extending to the water's edge. The ridge was at this time entirely covered with snow; but from partial appearance, I should suppose that it was a calcareous formation, like that of

From the mountains we descended to the lower and more contracted part of the Isthmus; a heavy storm of snow and sleet meanwhile falling upon us. The interval between the two seas, little more than four miles in extent, is occupied in great part by broken and irregular ground, in few places exceeding 150 feet in height. The remains are still very distinct of the ancient wall which traversed the Isthmus; and there are probably traces also of the canal, by which Nero intended to connect the two gulphs. The place of the Isthmæan Games, and of the temple of Neptune, may very clearly be made out. In approaching to Corinth, the view of the citadel, or Acro-Corinthos, becomes each moment more remarkable; an insulated and precipitous hill, sufficiently lofty to be seen from Athens, though a direct distance of more than forty miles.

The modern Corinth is a small straggling place, containing about 500 houses, with two mosques, and an extensive palace, belonging to the Turkish governor. A wide and fertile plain stretches before it along the shores of the gulph, covered in part with olive-groves. The remains of the ancient city are not adequate to its former splendour; the principal ruin being a portion of what is supposed the temple of Venus, of which only seven columns are now standing. These columns, of the Doric order, are remarkable as having a height of little more than four diameters, a proportion scarcely sufficient to satisfy the eye. The examination of the Acro-Corinthos is destined to gratify future curiosity. Its present character, as a Turkish fortress, and in an important position, entirely prohibits the access of the

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Cithæron. On the lower part of the mountains, on the Corinth side, I found some fragments of sienite; but whether brought down from above, I will not venture to say. On the same side of the ridge, there is a formation of calcareous conglomerate; curiously reticulated; the interstices for the most part angular; many of the included fragments perfectly nodular, and containing internally a decomposed earthy matter, much tinged with iron, and intersected with numerous contemporaneous veins of calcareous spar. There are some indistinct organic vestiges in this rock. The lower part of the Isthmus of Corinth is apparently of the more recent calcareous formation; but this district requires, and would probably satisfy, a more minute examination.

traveller; and I have known instances where much interest has been employed in vain to procure this license.*

From Corinth we proceeded over rugged roads, rendered almost impassable by the depth of the snow, to the site of Nemea; distinguishable by the ruins of the great temple of Jupiter, and by other vestiges of the ancient city. The three lofty Doric columns, the remains of the temple, rose at this time from a waste of snow, a scene of cheerless desolation, strikingly contrasted with the history of a spot where the Grecian multitude once assembled to the festivity of their games, and the celebration of religious rites.

A route of little more than eight miles conducted us from Nemea to the ruins of the venerable Mycenæ, a spot magnificent in its natural situation, and which affords peculiarly interesting memorials of ancient Greece, such as go back to the most remote periods of history. The very early destruction of this city is well known. The intervention of more than twenty-two centuries has still left behind, the remains of the great Cyclopian walls, the gate of Lions, the large and curiously constructed vault, supposed from Pausanias to be the treasury of Atreus†; a second vault, which fancy might be willing to imagine the tomb of Agamemnon, or of Clytemnestra; and various other vestiges of the same antiquity. There is a massive simplicity about these ruins, and a boldness in their situation, overhanging the ravines of mountain-torrents, which accord well with the history and associations of the spot. Even the single stones have a grandeur of size, which gives to each its character as a part of the whole. The great oblong block, forming the architrave of the door to the treasury of Atreus, has a length of twenty-seven feet, and some of those about the gate of Lions are little less remarkable. So constructed, it is

* I understand, however, that through Lord Elgin's interest at Constantinople, Lusieri was allowed once to visit this spot. I am not aware that any observation of importance was the result of this examination.

† This seems to be the same which M. Fauvel, in his memoir on the subject, has considered to be the tomb of Agamemnon.

perhaps scarcely to be wondered that these buildings should have retained their form through so many ages.

The view from Mycenæ extends over the plains of Argos, lying at its feet; comprehends in the distance the great mountain-groupes of Arcadia; and in the nearer landscape the upper part of the gulph of Argolis; the modern town of Napoli di Romania, on the site of the ancient Nauplia; the ruins of Tiryns, and the yet flourishing city of Argos, surmounted by the lofty insulated rock of its citadel. The remains of Tiryns have the same character of massive, but uncouth grandeur, as those of Mycenæ; and are remarkable for the great Cyclopian galleries, or passages, within the walls. The view of Argos from Mycenæ illustrates different allusions in the Greek writers, and combines to the eye at one moment two of the most interesting points in ancient Greece.

Traversing the fertile plains of Argos, which are watered by the Inachus of old times, and afford an abundant produce of corn, cotton, tobacco, and wine, we arrived at the city. Its modern extent is very considerable, and the streets are disposed with more regularity than is usual in this country. The population amounts to about 8000 souls. Scarcely any external vestiges remain of the old Argos; and the works of Polycletes, in his native city, are now either extinct or hidden under ground. The ruined walls of the castle, however, display a mixture of the ancient Cyclopian building, with the more feeble structure of later times; and the fragments of several Doric columns are visible, which may have belonged to the temple of Minerva; as well as a very old and curious inscription which has

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* The stone of which the walls, &c. of the ancient Mycenæ are constructed, is a calcareous conglomerate; the included fragments calcareous, and frequently of large size. This stone was obtained from the hills, on the declivity of which the city stood. The same material is seen in the neighbouring ruins of Tiryns, and is in fact common in various parts of Greece.

These several remains of Nemea, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, are minutely described in the work on the Argolis by Sir W. Gell, which affords a most valuable illustration of this portion of Greece.

been given by Sir W. Gell in his work on the Argolis. The site of the celebrated temple of the Argive Juno is still a desideratum to research; but this is to be sought at some distance from Argos, and nearer to the ruins of Mycenæ.*

At Argos we found a very intelligent physician, and passed some time also at the house of one of the Greek primates of the city. Here we found as strongly marked as elsewhere, that indignant feeling of their political situation, which is at least one step towards the future freedom of the Greeks. If this liberation should eventually happen, the Morea will probably be the first scene of change; and it is here therefore particularly interesting to note the progress of opinion and public spirit.

Our route from Argos was to Tripolitza, the modern capital of this province, and situated nearly in the centre of the peninsula. The cold became now each day more severe. At Argos, on the 26th of January, the thermometer, at eight *a.m.*, was at 29°, and we found ice a third of an inch in thickness, which a single night had produced. Under these unlucky auspices we began the ascent of the mountains into Arcadia, leaving to the left the still marshy plain of Lerna, well known as the scene of one of the Herculean labours, and the place where the Danaides murdered their husbands. We soon reached the snow level, which at this time was only two or three hundred feet above the sea, and continued ascending for more than two hours by a most difficult and laborious path, rendered doubly so by the snow, in many places lying to the depth of three or four feet upon the ground. Here and there the track was almost entirely lost, and we experienced difficulties which another day of stormy weather would have converted into impossibility of crossing the ridge. The road reaches a height, as I imagine, of more than 2000 feet above the sea, leaving on the right hand mountains much loftier and more precipitous. From this elevated point there is a magnificent view of

* It is described as having been only fifteen stadia from the latter city.

the whole southern coast of the Argolis, as well as of the rugged chain of hills occupying the interior of this region*. In the distance, and near the mouth of the gulph of Argolis, is seen the small isle of Hydra, a spot which, of late, has become very interesting from the extent and importance of its commerce. But a few miles in circumference, with a surface so rocky as scarcely to yield the common vegetables, and even without any other water than that collected in cisterns; this little spot has an active and wealthy population of more than 25,000 souls, and a property in shipping, amounting, it is said, to about 300 trading vessels, many of them of large tonnage, and well armed. I have heard, and have some reason to believe the statement, that there is a merchant in Hydra, whose acquired property amounts to about a million of dollars, and many others, with a trading capital, which bears proportion to this sum. The nature of this commerce presents many peculiarities, some of which I have stated below. It is perhaps most interesting as it shews the ability and disposition of the Greeks to become an active and enterprizing people, wherever the obstacles to their progress are removed; attesting the part they would bear in Europe should a favourable change take place in the political situation of Turkey.†

* From the outline of these hills, I should think it possible there might be primitive rocks amongst them.

† Hydra is the most remarkable of three or four isles in the Archipelago, which have risen into extensive commercial importance. It is worthy of notice that all these isles are small, and for the most part of barren surface; had they been larger or more fertile, the population would probably have been occupied in the growth, or trifling export of their produce, without entering into the general carrying trade, which is now their great source of wealth. The situation of Hydra has further led to this superior extent of its commerce. Closely adjoining to a fertile province, which abounds in grain and other articles of export, but is subject in general to an ignorant and tyrannical local government; it has been itself exempt from political oppression, by coming under the more feeble and dispersed authority of the Capitan Pasha. Its barrenness, too, might afford protection to the growth of its commerce, which now protects itself, by enabling the inhabitants to purchase an easy exemption from a power almost too weak upon the seas to oppress them. A small tribute

Arrived at the summit of this lofty ridge, we looked to the south over a series of rugged mountain-chains, entirely covered with snow, affording a winterly spectacle of the most splendid kind. I had little expected, however, that Arcadia, which fancy and poetry picture as the abode of spring, of softness, and of beauty, would ever have presented a scenery of this kind; nor did I, in the instant of surprize, recollect that Pausanias speaks of the cold dense air of Arcadia, and of the effect it has in giving austerity to the manners of the inhabitants. It must be noticed, however, that all we now saw before us did not belong to this region. Beyond the ancient Mount Parthenius, we looked forwards upon the rugged chains of Laconia,

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of money, and of sailors for the Turkish navy, secures the Hydriotes from any serious interruption to their traffic, in as far as the Turkish government is concerned.

Their trade consists principally in the transport of the produce of this part of Turkey to other quarters of the Mediterranean, and in bringing back to the Levant return cargoes of colonial and manufactured articles. The chief export, especially lately, has been grain; the scarcity of which, for two or three years in the west of Europe, has given an extraordinary stimulus to this traffic. The Hydriote ships, many of them of three, four, or five hundred tons, purchased their cargoes of corn in Greece, Egypt, or Asia Minor; much of it from the Morea, Thessaly, or Macedonia; and carrying it down the Mediterranean, obtained a ready sale, occasionally at a profit of 40 or 50 per cent. upon the cargo. The details of this trade are curious. The capitalists of Hydra, most of whom have originally been the captains of ships, reside in the isle, and lend out their money to commercial adventurers, on the verbal faith (for writings are seldom employed) of receiving a certain interest, 10, 15, or even 20 per cent. upon the proceeds of the voyage. The captains of the ships, who are generally principal owners, are, for the most part, responsible agents in these transactions. It is the system of the Hydriotes, however, that every person on board their ships, even to the cabin boy, has a share in the speculation, either in lieu of wages, for which the proportion is duly regulated, or by the investment of the savings which any one may have made. Every Hydriote sailor is therefore more or less of a merchant, and is furnished with the strongest motive to habitual industry, in the opportunity of thereby advancing his fortune in life. The ships of the island have usually very numerous crews, who are reckoned among the most skilful sailors of the Mediterranean. They all retain a strong attachment to their native place, and seldom fail to marry and establish themselves here, when they have acquired any property by their adventures. The city of Hydra is built rather in the Italian than Turkish manner, and contains many excellent houses, furnished even in a style of luxury and sumptuousness.

and in the distance saw the great ridge of Taygetus rising above all the rest. For a moment, the wintry majesty of the landscape might almost have compensated for the failure to the imagination.

Descending from the mountains, we entered a chain of vallies, which better accorded with the description of Arcadian scenery; villages, situated among woods, on the declivity of the hills; shepherds attending their flocks with the genuine Arcadian crook in their hands; others sitting round fires which they had kindled in caves or clefts of the rocks. This transient glimpse, however, was again lost, as we began the ascent of another chain of hills, which may be said to support the central plains of the Morea. The evening was approaching, the cold each moment became more severe, and the steep path of rocky stairs by which we ascended was rendered almost a sheet of ice. We reached the summit just after the sun had set, and looked down upon the wide plains of Tripolitza, so entirely covered with snow, that scarcely a single object broke the uniformity of surface. It was one of those wintry evenings, when, with an intense severity of frost, there is a clearness and even brilliancy of the atmosphere, and a deep red glow of the horizon, which are never equally seen at any other time of the year. The thermometer, at this moment, was 8° below the freezing point; and it continued lowering as we advanced. The plain of Tripolitza has a high level above the sea; and the snow was now lying to the average depth of 18 inches over its surface. After traversing it for some distance, the excessive cold, and the impossibility of keeping the track, compelled us to stop for the night at the village of Steno; where, in a wretched hovel, we huddled, together with a family of twelve people, over the embers of a wood fire. The cold, however, was such, that even in this situation we could procure no warmth. At seven the next morning, my thermometer stood at 18°; and I afterwards learnt at Tripolitza, that at six o'clock it was as low as 16° of Fahrenheit.

We continued our way to this city through the snow; actually crossing a considerable stream on horseback over the ice. Arrived at Tripolitza, we obtained a lodging in the house of Theodosius, the

Greek *dragoman* to the Pasha of the Morea; which might have been comfortable, but for a degree of cold which neither the construction of the Greek houses, nor the nature of the fuel the Greeks employ, are at all fitted to obviate. At 3 *p. m.* this day, the thermometer was at 29°, and it continued below the freezing point for the three succeeding days, which we passed in this city, the wind being chiefly from the north and north-east. It had been our design to have made an excursion from Tripolitza to the site of the ancient Sparta, which is little more than 30 miles distant; but the snow lay so deeply on the intervening country, that the route was deemed impracticable, and no one would consent to attend us*. A Tartar arrived from Patras on the evening of the 29th, so much affected by the frost, that I was obliged to have recourse to active means to save one of his feet. In short, the degree and continuance of the cold were such, as I scarcely recollect to have experienced in England, and this in the very centre of Arcadia. The people of Tripolitza are inured to severe winters, but they referred back to a season about thirty five years before, as the only one affording a parallel to the present. The situation of the city, on an elevated plain, surrounded by lofty chains of mountains, explains the peculiar severity of the weather here; but this winter was in fact remarkable in every part of Greece. Generally speaking, however, I do not find any distinct proof that the climate is more severe in this country now, than it was in former times. Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. lib. viii.) describes the cold as being usually very great about 40 days after the winter solstice, and we have numerous testimonies of the depth and continuance of the snow on all the higher lands of this region.

* The remains of Sparta, though very inconsiderable, yet suffice to shew the position of the ancient city, the scenery surrounding which, in the valley of the Eurotas, and the ridge of Taygetus, is of a magnificent kind. The large town of Mistra, containing about 1,500 houses, is situated in this district. The valley of the Eurotas is very luxuriant in its produce of mulberry-trees, and a great part of the silk of the Morea is from this part of the country.

Tripolitza, for a long time the residence of the Pasha of the Morea, is a large walled city, containing about 15,000 people. The situation of the place is level, excepting the small eminence, on which stands the fortress. A third or fourth part only of the population is Turkish. The Seraglio of the Pasha, near the northern extremity of the city, forms an extensive groupe of buildings, without regularity or splendour. We visited a Kiosk, or pleasure-house, erected by Veli Pasha, near the fortress; one of those strange compounds of ornament and deformity, which are so common in Turkey; yet, on the whole, displaying more taste than is usual in these buildings. The interior of Tripolitza is mean and irregular, and affords little to interest the stranger.

Our host, the *dragoman* Theodosius, was an excellent specimen of the modern Greek; intelligent, well acquainted with the world, managing, and fond of intrigue. His situation, as well as that of all connected with the Seraglio of Tripolitza, had latterly become somewhat critical from the arrival of Veli Pasha's successor in the Morea. Achmet Pasha, the present governor of the province, is a Turk in the strongest sense of the word; a man of stern, unyielding mind, and bigotted to all the prejudices of his nation. The portion of European refinement which Veli had given to the court of Tripolitza, was already lost to it; and though his successor displayed less sensuality, and practised fewer extortions, yet his cruel disposition had already shewn itself; and in the course of the first five months of his government, more than sixty people are said to have suffered death. An anecdote was told me in Zante, of two of his own nephews being bow-strung for visiting a bath which he had ordered them not to frequent; and there was considerable authority given to this story, by the source from which it came. Many began to believe at this time, that the people of the province would repent themselves of their eagerness to get rid of Veli Pasha, in their dislike to his more violent successor. The Moriote Greeks have the character of being extremely quick and susceptible, and of interesting themselves in political affairs, more than most of their country-

men. This is an effect probably of their having been more lately subdued by the Turks; of the large proportion their own population bears in the province, and of those natural advantages of position which may eventually aid them, both in regaining and defending their freedom. Repeatedly they have shewn their temper and quickness in political matters; and during the latter period of Veli Pasha's government, a spirit was excited, which a little more oppression and opportunity would have roused to the most serious state of revolt.

We became acquainted with several of the Greeks of Tripolitza; amongst others, with the physicians Antonio Vitora, and Michael Kava; the former a Cephaloniote, the latter a native of Argos. Vitora was an agreeable man, who had studied at Padua; and there became the pupil and friend of Volta. He had brought with him to Tripolitza, a Voltaic pile, which of course excited much surprize and admiration at this place. The library of Vitora, which I examined, contained about 800 volumes, including some of the best English, French, and Italian medical authors.

From Tripolitza, we contrived with difficulty to walk four miles through the snow, to visit the site of Tegea. The remains of this once considerable city, are now very trifling; and the ruins of a Greek episcopal church upon the spot, barely serve to shew some fragments of old magnificence, in the broken columns and capitals, which have been inserted into its walls. I could not find here any inscriptions that are still legible.

The state of the weather at this time, disappointed all the plans of our journey through the Morea, and instead of taking a road through the southern and western parts of Arcadia, and along the banks of the Alpheus, we were obliged to seek the shortest, and now the only practicable route to Patras, at the entrance of the gulph of Corinth, with the design of embarking thence for Zante. This journey also, though not affording so many objects of classical repute, would have been very interesting, in its display of Arcadian scenery, had not the same circumstances of weather thrown a wintry aspect over

the whole country; making the landscape less that of Arcadia, than of the Highlands of Scotland at the same season. During the three days occupied by our journey from Tripolitza to Patras, the thermometer scarcely ever rose above 36°, and in the night fell below the freezing point. The snow covered not only the mountains, but even the plains and vallies, in many places offering the most serious obstacles to our progress. It is true, that the whole of this region, even where it approaches the sea, is on a very high level, and everywhere broken by mountain-ridges and summits, which are among the most elevated in Greece. But this winter was general in its influence, and at Patras, on the morning of the 4th of February, I saw the thermometer at 27°, though this place is close to the sea, and with a westerly exposure.

Seeing the country under these circumstances, I can but state the outline of the route by which we traversed it. We left Tripolitza on the 30th of January, attended by a Tartar, named Achmet, and by an Arab, who was travelling to the western coast of the Morea, and obliged, from the present state of the country, to take this route. Six miles to the north of Tripolitza, we passed the site of Mantinea, the scene of the battle which lost Epaminondas to the Thebans. The vestiges of the city are very distinct, in the outline of the antient walls, and in the ruins of the theatre, which was of considerable size.

From Mantinea we took a north-west route to the village of Lebedi 15 miles from Tripolitza, where we passed the night. From this point the views towards the north were of the most magnificent kind; beneath us the deep vallies and lake of Orchomenos; and beyond, successive ridges of mountain; rising in the distance into various lofty summits, the most conspicuous of which was the Mount Cyllene of the antients, fabled as the spot where Mercury descended from heaven. This mountain is the highest of the Peloponnesus, and may be regarded as one of the most elevated points in Greece. The scenery surrounding it is of the finest kind, both in its magnitude and picturesque character.

Another day's journey of nearly 30 miles, brought us to the village Southena, situated on the ascent of a mountain ridge, which forms the highest point of level in the route between Tripolitza and Patras. At intervals during this part of our progress, we had glimpses of true Arcadian scenery, amidst the general gloom of winter which surrounded us. The vallies of the Ladon or Tragus, and of the Aroanius, rivers which flow south-west to join the Alpheus, afford landscapes rich in wood, water, and cliff; and which derive additional character from the situation of the villages, and the appearance of shepherds, conducting their flocks along the skirts of the mountains*. The country continues to be entirely calcareous; the rock a greyish white limestone, regularly stratified, in some places with great inclination of the strata. High among the cliffs, which line the valley of what may be presumed the Aroanius, stands the Greek monastery of Spilio, in a spot which none but the most refined superstition could have chosen for the abode of man. Ancient manuscripts, I believe, have been sought for here, but without success.

From Southena, we crossed the mountain ridge, already mentioned, to Kalavrita, a large town singularly situated in one of the deep ravines on its northern side. The precipices and forests of this ridge afford a scenery of the finest kind; but the passage over it was rendered so dangerous by the depth of the snow, and the obscurity of the track, and so unpleasant from the excessive cold, that it was impossible to derive enjoyment from any source. At Kalavrita, which is possibly near the scite of the ancient Cynethæ, we procured fresh horses, and pursued our journey over a hilly country, covered at intervals with extensive forests of oak and beech, to the valley of

* There are some geographical difficulties, as respects the course of the Aroanius and the Erymanthus, in his delineation of which D'Anville is by no means accurate. The Tragus is the river coming from the lake of Orchomenos. Like many other Grecian rivers, and particularly those of the Peloponnesus, it flows for some distance under ground, after leaving the lake.

a considerable river, which from the direction of its course towards the gulph of Corinth, may perhaps be the Crathis or Selinus of antiquity. The geography of this part of Arcadia, however, is comparatively little known, and requires much further elucidation.

The scenery along the course of this valley is extremely interesting. The forms of vast mountains fill up all the openings towards the distant landscape; the hills immediately bordering on the valley are lofty and abrupt, being formed of a calcareous conglomerate, which here and there has been so decomposed, as to leave pinnacles of rock, which resemble on a small scale those of Meteora. Following the valley upwards for some miles, we ascended the hills among which some branches of the river rise, to the solitary Khan of Gotzumeza, where we passed the night. From this spot there is a singular view towards the south and east, of successive ridges of mountains rising beyond each other, as far as the eye can reach. The arrangement of the high land in Arcadia, seems to be somewhat different from that of the northern parts of Greece: the mountains are more indiscriminately crowded together, and not in general separated by the same wide intervening plains as in Bœotia, Thessaly, and Epirus.

We passed a miserable night at Gotzumeza, the thermometer several degrees below 32°, and the wind coming in upon us through a thousand apertures in the roof and walls. Another Tartar arrived this evening from Tripolitza, severely bruised by a fall from his horse. The two Tartars and the Arab took up their abode for the night in the same room with us, all crouching together on the ground before the fire.

From this Khan to Patras is eighteen miles, the intervening country rendered picturesque by the woods which cover its mountains and vallies. The exit from the lofty region, which forms all the interior of the Peloponnesus, affords one of the finest spectacles that can be conceived, in the suddenness with which a vast landscape is opened out in front. The fertile plains of Patras are immediately beneath, stretching to the shores of the gulph, which gradually expands from

the Rhium and Anti-rhium, between the receding coasts of the Peloponnesus and Ætolia. The splendid promontories of Calydon and Taphiasus; the mouths of the Evenus and Achilous; the modern castle and city of Lepanto, representing the ancient Naupactus; the expansion of the gulph of Corinth underneath the mountains of Locris Ozolia, with many other objects of classical note are seen in front of the landscape: the mountains of Acarnania, of Cephalonia, and Ithaca appear in the more remote distance. Till descending to the plains of Patras I had no sufficient idea of the great elevation on which we had been travelling for some days past. Our descent, which was very steep, occupied more than an hour, and on a moderate estimate could not have been less than 1500 feet, though we approached the edge of the declivity along a valley. The rocks among which we passed, exhibited in their section a very fine specimen of the alternation of layers of limestone and flint formerly described.

Patras is a town of some consequence, containing nearly 10,000 inhabitants, and having a considerable commerce in currants, grain, and oil, the produce of its own luxuriant plains. The article of currants is the most important, the annual export from this district and the adjoining one of Vostitza amounting to more than 5,000,000 lbs. The most remarkable object in the town is the castle, which however has greatly suffered from an explosion of gunpowder three or four years ago. A small chapel in the environs, dedicated to St. George, serves to commemorate the assistance this saint *visibly* afforded to Don John of Austria, in the celebrated naval battle of Lepanto, which took place near Patras in 1571.

Several European consuls reside at Patras. We were hospitably lodged by M. Strani, the English consul, at whose house we found the Honourable K. Craven and Sir W. Gell, awaiting an opportunity of embarking for Zante. The detention arose chiefly from an apprehension of pirates, who, at this time, notwithstanding the vicinity of the Ionian Isles, infested the coast of the Morea and the entrance of the gulph of Corinth, availing themselves of French licences to afford

a sort of authority to their depredations. We made an arrangement with these gentlemen, to accompany them in the passage to Zante. A large decked boat was procured: we left Patras at noon on the 4th of February, with a wind from the north-east, which towards evening blew so violently that we reached the harbour of Zante the same night. Some fears of a quarantine were carried with us, but on our arrival it was matter of much satisfaction to find that it had been taken off two days before.

The journey through the Peloponnesus, just related, was unfortunate beyond calculation in all the circumstances attending it. To a certain extent I afterwards retrieved this misfortune by an excursion I made in the month of May over the plains of the ancient Elis, and along the beautiful banks of the Alpheus, to the site of the celebrated Olympia. At this time the country was glowing with beauty; and though the severity of the winter still shewed itself in the snows covering the mountain summits, all beneath was true Arcadian scenery, and might have been taken in its population, as well as natural features, to fill up the pictures which the fancy draws of this region.

CHAP. XXI.

DEPARTURE ON A SECOND VOYAGE INTO ALBANIA. — LANDING AT PREVESA. — INTERVIEW WITH ALI PASHA. — NARRATIVE OF AN EXCURSION TO THE UPPER PART OF THE GULPH OF ARTA. — ALI PASHA AMONG THE RUINS OF NICOPOLIS. DEPARTURE FOR IOANNINA BY THE ROUTE OF SULI. — LURO. — ENTRANCE AMONG THE SULI MOUNTAINS. — SERAGLIO OF SULI. — WAR OF ALI PASHA WITH THE SULIOTES.

THE promise I had given to Ali Pasha of returning for a short time to see him before I quitted Turkey, still remained to be fulfilled. The intention of fulfilling it was confirmed by letters which had arrived in the interval at Zante, in which the Vizier strongly expressed his desire of seeing me again. As at this time I proposed to limit my second visit to Albania almost exclusively to this object, it was satisfactory to me to learn that he still continued at Prevesa, where he had passed the whole of December and January with his court, and attended by some thousands of his Albanian soldiers: I formed my plan then for setting out thither, while my friend, whose affairs called him to Sicily, proposed to embark in the earliest packet for that island. A fortnight, however, intervened before any opportunity occurred of departure, during which time I made the short excursion to Cephalonia, of which a relation has been given in a preceding part of this volume.

The severity of this winter in the Ionian Isles was proportional to that we had already experienced on the continent of Greece. The snow had lain some time in the streets of Zante; and in Cephalonia, the lagoon at the upper part of the gulph of Argostoli had been frozen over a great part of its extent. All the upper ridges of the Black Mountain of Cephalonia were still completely covered with snow.

I sailed from Zante on the 17th of February, and arrived at Santa Maura, after a passage of two days. From thence I crossed over to Prevesa, and landed here amidst the crowd of Albanian soldiers who at this time occupied every avenue and corner of the town. The Vizier had his residence in the old Seraglio of Prevesa, the new building being still not prepared for his reception. My arrival was speedily made known to him, and he immediately sent down the physician Lucas to express his gratification on my return, and his desire of seeing me at the Seraglio. He appointed me at the same time a lodging in the house of Panagiotaki, the principal Greek merchant now remaining at Prevesa, after the many changes that have occurred in the population and fortunes of the place. I was fortunate in obtaining such a place of abode, at a moment when every dwelling of the town was crowded to excess. The Vizier had brought down with him from Ioannina many of his ministers and principal officers, and I found Sakallarius and Metaxà, as well as Lucas, in medical attendance upon him. His residence at Prevesa had now, as on former occasions, been marked by various traits of despotic infliction; and anecdotes were given me afterwards of different Greek residents of the place, who were sent up to Ioannina as prisoners, to compel them to the payment of sums of money demanded by the Vizier.

In my first interview with Ali Pasha he received me in the most friendly manner, expressing warmly his satisfaction in seeing me again, and saying at the same time that he had never doubted my adherence to the promise I had given. He asked many and minute questions regarding my journey, my residence at Larissa, and the health of Veli Pasha. One or two inquiries about Salonica attracted my notice by their tone and manner, as if something lay concealed beneath them of which he would not openly speak. He alluded to the letters I had written to him from Larissa and Athens, and appeared to have been gratified by them. We afterwards conversed respecting his health. I found that he was better on the whole than when I quitted Ioannina, and that he had adopted some of the precautionary means I then recommended. He inquired as to my

future plans, and again repeated his desire that I would continue with him as his physician. He hoped, at least, that as I was now in Albania I would remain some time longer in this country, and promised me every facility I could wish for in travelling, and in visiting what I might consider worthy of examination.

I mentioned to the Vizier my desire of making an excursion to the upper part of the gulph of Arta, along its southern shores. He entered at once into this project, and ordered two of his soldiers to attend me as guards, who were well-acquainted with this part of the country.

I set out upon this excursion on the evening of the same day, a boat having been appointed to convey me. My two Albanian guards, Kapsamouni and Fissouki, were men of fine appearance, but with something of untamed ferocity of manner, which I have seldom seen surpassed. Their amusement, as we proceeded up the gulph, was in firing shot at the fishermen's boats, chiefly, as it would seem, to shew their dexterity in the use of the fusil. In one or two instances, when the fishermen fled in dismay, they took deliberate aim at the men themselves, accompanying this with the common opprobrious epithet of *Keratas* *, and a thousand other phrases of bitter import. I had difficulty in preventing a still more savage use of their power when stopping at different hamlets on the shores of the gulph, and it was but by alleging the authority of Ali Pasha that I could put a check to their rude violence.

I stopped a short time at Vonitza, the situation of which, on an inlet of the gulph, points it out as the site of the ancient Limnæa. Beyond this place the shores are rendered extremely beautiful by the alternation of promontories and bays; the richly wooded surface rising behind towards a lofty mountain groupe, which occupies the central part of Acarnania. From the woods lining these shores is procured a great part of the timber exported from the gulph; and

* The meaning of this term, which is universally employed in Greece, will be obvious in its derivation.

several Maltese vessels were at this time lying here to take in their cargoes. Some of the oak timber is of size sufficient for all the purposes of ship-building, but much small wood also is cut down for exportation.

These forests, on the shores of the gulph, have long been the resort of banditti, and the active police of Ali Pasha has scarcely yet succeeded in effecting their annihilation. The most vigorous efforts, however, have been made with this object, and Albanian soldiers are stationed at various points on the coast to assist in accomplishing it. While waiting for a change of wind in a small bay to the east of Vonitza, my guards and Greek servant went up to a hamlet a mile from the shore. During their absence, a band of six Albanian soldiers came down to the beach and imperiously inquired what I was doing there, or something to this effect. I was alone, and unable to satisfy them, but fortunately found the pipe of Kapsamouni, which had been left in the boat; and the leader of the band, on examining it, cried out immediately, that it belonged to his brother. On this discovery they dispersed in various directions through the wood, and firing their fusils, soon collected my guards, as well as several other Albanians. The two brothers, thus brought accidentally together, cordially saluted each other; a large fire was kindled in the wood, a goat killed, and instantly spitted whole upon a wooden pole, and the party seated themselves on the earth around this rude kitchen apparatus. The dusk of the evening had now come on; the fire threw a singular light on the stern countenances and forms of the Albanians, who now and then were joined by another comrade from amidst the depth of the woods. Such a scene on the shores of Acarnania was not devoid of interest. The goat being roasted, it was cut, or rather torn into fragments, and the party made a rude and hasty feast around the fire. This over, I re-embarked on the gulph with my two guards, the remainder of the party firing their fusils over our heads as a compliment on our departure.

The gulph, at its upper extremity, forks into two branches, with a low peninsula between. We took the southern branch, and pro-

ceeded to its highest point, where it circles around in the form of a beautiful bay, underneath the wooded hills, which rise from the water's edge. On one of these hills, which forms an insulated ridge running back in a south-east direction from the bay, are situated the ruins of an ancient city, which it was one of the objects of my excursion to examine. The walls forming the principal feature in these ruins, skirt along nearly the whole extent of the ridge, including an irregular oblong area, about a mile in its greatest length, but of much smaller breadth. The structure of these walls is Cyclopian; they are of great thickness, and on the eastern side, where built with most regularity, are still perfect to the height of more than twenty feet. Two gates of the city are distinctly visible; that on the western side, which appears to have been the principal, approached by a series of steps, of great breadth and extremely well constructed. The space included within the walls is thickly overgrown with trees and brush-wood. I traversed it in various directions, but without being able to discover any inscription or other remains than those of dilapidated walls.

From the southern extremity of the hill, at the highest point of the ruins, is a fine view of the long valley through which lies the route from the head of the gulph of Arta to Mesalongia, near the mouth of the Aspro-potami; a distance of between 40 and 50 miles. A lake, the name of which I believe is Agrilos, spreads its waters along this valley for a length of about six miles, but is so narrow as to resemble a broad river. A Greek monastery stands near its northern extremity, and a village called Ambracia, on the ascent of the hill above this building. We may perhaps suppose this village to have been settled originally from Ambracia, since it is not possible that the city itself should have been situated on this part of the gulph. Though I cannot venture to speak with certainty, yet I am led to believe that the ruins just described may be those of Stratus, one of the Ætolian cities mentioned by Thucydides in his history of the Peloponnesian war, and again by Polybius and Livy, in their account of the wars

between the Romans and Macedonian kings. The situation of these ruins corresponds well with that which they assign to Stratus, and is not equally applicable to any other ancient city of this district.*

There is no apparent stream from the lake of Agrilos into the gulph of Arta, though in M. D'Anville's map, (and others have copied from him,) the river Inachus coming from Argos of Amphilochia, is represented as entering the gulph at this point. The country stretching eastwards to the Aspro-potami is high and rugged, but may be traversed by a day's journey from the Palaio-Kastro, as the ruins of this ancient city are termed.

The southern coast of the gulph of Arta, and probably all the hills in the interior of Acarnania, belong to the great calcareous formation of Greece. No peculiarity appeared in the rocks which I saw during this short excursion.

I made a rapid passage down the gulph of Arta to Prevesa. The morning after my return, I passed some time with the Vizier; who, among other topics of conversation enquired my opinion as to the feasibility of erecting a new fortress on the site of the ruins I had just visited. The position, he well remarked, was an important one, both for the general defence of the country, and in reference to the extinction of the robbers who infest this region. At this interview, he again urged me so strongly to go up the country a second time to Ioannina, for which city he was himself setting out in a few days, that I acceded to his wish; connecting with this plan, the further

* Livy speaks of Stratus as on the Ambracian gulph, in the nearest point to the river Achelous. The same appears from a passage in Polybius, lib. v. c. 2. Strabo (lib. x) speaks of there being a carriage of 200 stadia from Stratus to the Achelous; which accords with the length of the journey between the gulph of Arta and this river. I am not aware that any traveller has fixed the exact situation of Thermum, a place described by Polybius, in the passage quoted above, as the citadel of Ætolia, and where there was a temple containing 2000 statues. Stratus has been generally placed on the Achelous, and Argos of Amphilochia, in the situation of the ruins described above; but on the whole I am disposed to think that this cannot be correct.

scheme of travelling through some parts of Albania, which had hitherto been seldom visited, particularly the mountainous region of Suli, which has lately acquired celebrity in this country, by the long resistance its natives opposed to the power of Ali Pasha. Besides the expectation of much extraordinary scenery, I was further directed to this scheme by the desire of tracing the course of the ancient Acheron, which, I was well convinced, must be looked for here, and not in the vicinity of the lake of Ioannina. It was fixed then, at this time, that I should be provided with an escort to convey me to Ioannina, by the route of the Suli mountains, and Paramithia; with any other deviation I might be inclined to make from this road. The Vizier interested himself in the scheme of the journey; and sketched out, in a rude manner, on paper, the relative situation of different objects which he conceived to be worthy of observation.

Two days still elapsed before I quitted Prevesa. On the morning of the 26th I accompanied the Vizier, who was attended also by some hundreds of his guards, to the ruins of Nicopolis. He went thither to examine some excavations he had ordered to be made, with the view to the discovery of marbles, coins, or other relics of the ancient city; influenced probably in this, by the report of the profitable research which had been recently carried on in the Morea during Veli Pasha's government of that province. I rode from Prevesa to Nicopolis in company with the Effendi, and on a horse splendidly accoutred, which Ali Pasha had sent me for the purpose. When arrived amidst the ruins, I found the Vizier sitting on a crimson velvet couch which was placed on the ground, near the great transverse wall of the city, and above an excavation which had just been made. He was surrounded by his Albanian guards, with several of his ministers and secretaries. He desired me to sit near him, and asked my opinion as to the research which was going on. The spot was evidently not favourable, and I could not give him any encouragement as to the probable results. I found him acquainted, generally, with the fact, that Nicopolis was founded to commemorate

a naval victory near Prevesa; but of the period and other circumstances he was wholly ignorant.

After some conversation, he desired me to point out any places I regarded as more likely to lead to discovery. Having explained to him that the probable value of research here was less than in a Greek city, I went with Lucas and two soldiers; and, after some examination fixed upon two or three spots, where excavations might be made with some likelihood of success. Returning to the Vizier, I found that he had just dined, at his usual hour of 12 o'clock; the dishes for this purpose having been brought out from Prevesa. He was then sitting under a broken arch with some of his secretaries around him, occupied in receiving petitions and administering justice. Ali Pasha, in this situation, among the ruins of the ancient city of Augustus, was a spectacle not a little strange and curious in its kind. After remaining an hour or two longer on the spot, he returned in his carriage to Prevesa; some of his guards attending him on horseback; the greater number running by the side of the carriage, with a rapidity for which the Albanians are very remarkable.

On the morning of the 1st of March, I set out on my journey for the mountains of Suli. The Vizier appointed three guards to attend me, two of them Mussulman Albanians, and officers in his army; the third a Christian, but of inferior rank. Tachir Aga, one of the former, was son of the commandant of the Suli fortresses; the other, named Chirko, a native of Paramithia. The Vizier sent me likewise one of his own horses for my journey; a matter rather of shew than of use, since it was impossible to leave my attendants, who were all mounted on the horses of the post. The splendid trappings, with which it was adorned, I soon dismissed, for my own simpler and more convenient travelling apparatus.

My first day's stage was only to the village of Luro, about twelve miles to the north of Prevesa; the intervening country variously broken by low hills, tolerably well wooded, and richly cultivated.

The houses in Luro are almost all built of reeds and mud. Near the town flows the river of Luro, which, rising at once from a large fountain in the mountains at Aios-Georgios, to the west of the road between Arta and Ioannina, enters the gulph of Arta through the marshes in the vicinity of Salaora. In two or three different situations near Luro, are the ruins of towns or fortresses, the vestiges of ancient Epirus, and of some of the many places in this region which decayed or were destroyed during the Roman wars here.

After sleeping on the earthen floor of a cottage, I continued my journey towards the great castle of Suli, distant about twenty-two miles from Luro. My escort was now increased by two other Albanian soldiers, whom Tachir Aga ordered to attend us through the mountains. Our route for some miles was through a broken irregular country, thickly covered with wood. After this, we entered an open valley, stretching in a northerly direction for ten miles; a stream descending through it to join the river of Luro. The valley is well cultivated, chiefly with maize; and large flocks of sheep were feeding on the skirts of the hills which form its boundary. Here, as everywhere else in Greece, I found a good deal of caution to be necessary in passing these flocks, from the fierceness of the large dogs attending them; and the same caution is required, especially in Albania, in approaching at night any cottage where these animals are kept. This I speak from experience, having three times had my clothes torn by them; and once, when I had no great coat on, not without much risk of further injury. These shepherd's dogs of Greece are probably the lineal descendants of the Molossian dogs, celebrated in former times for their strength and ferocity. — Ælian calls them θυμικωτατος κυνων, and this epithet answers well to their character at the present time.

Passing a low ridge, beyond the valley just described, I came to the banks of a stream, running in an opposite direction, from south to north, to join the river of Suli. Two miles beyond, I reached this river, which, descending in a south-west course, through a valley of

considerable width, makes at this place a sudden and remarkable bend towards the north, and enters by a narrow pass the wild and magnificent region of Suli. The landscape here is singularly fine; and the sudden change in the character of the scenery of very extraordinary kind. The river of Suli rises by different streams in the country to the west of Cinque Pozzi; passes the village of Sestron or Sestroni, which gives name to a part of its course, and in the valley just alluded to, flows underneath a high ridge of mountain, called Valdunesi. From the place where I reached its banks, to the castle of Suli and the plains of Paramithia, the scenery along its course is altogether more singular than any other I have seen in Greece; striking as this country is in all its natural features.

Crossing the river by a deep ford, where it makes this sudden turn to the north, I ascended the mountain on the eastern side of the Pass, or chasm, which it now enters, and which is so much contracted by opposing cliffs, to the height of some hundred feet above the stream, that no access is possible, except along the higher ledges of its mountain boundary. The ascent was one of extreme difficulty, and some danger. Skirting under the summit of the mountain, upon narrow and broken ledges of rock, I came to a spot where the interior of this profound chasm opened suddenly before me, vast and almost perpendicular precipices conducting the eye downwards to the dark line, which the river forms in flowing beneath. The view from this place I have never seen surpassed in grandeur; if grandeur indeed be a word which expresses the peculiarity of the scenery; not only its magnitude, but also the boldness and abruptness of all its forms; and a sort of sombre depth and obscurity in its features, to which it would not be easy to find a parallel. In one view you may trace the progress of the river for six or seven miles, between mountains some of which are upwards of 3000 feet in height; their precipitous sides beginning to rise even from the edge of the water; their projecting cliffs and ledges covered with small oaks and brush-wood; and higher up, where they recede further from the per-

pendicular line, retaining the same sombre character from the dark thickets and rows of pines, which appear at intervals among the rocks.

When first looking down into this great chasm, the impression came upon me, that this river must assuredly be the real Acheron of the Ancients; though I had the geographer Meletius in my hand, who, with other writers, gives this name to the modern Kalama, a river further to the north. My first impression, however, finds a decisive confirmation in the testimony of ancient authors; whose evidence on the subject is so distinct, that it is somewhat surprizing it should have been mistaken. This evidence indeed chiefly relates to the mouth of the river, and to the Acherusian lake, which is near its entrance into the sea; but it is not less satisfactory on this account, and we may fairly conclude that there was some metaphorical relation between the extraordinary scenery of this stream, as it passes through the mountains of Suli, and the picture of the infernal regions, adopted by ancient mythology. It would be needless to cite all the passages, which bear upon this geographical point. One in Thucydides, considering the accuracy of this writer, would alone perhaps be sufficient, where, in describing the voyage of the Athenian fleet from Leucadia to Corcyra, he points out distinctly the relative situation of the mouth of the Acheron; the Acherusian lake, through which this river flows when near the sea; the promontory of the Cheimerium, and the mouth of the Thyamis, now the Kalama, further to the north*. Different passages in Herodotus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and other writers, concur entirely on this subject†; and

* Thucyd. lib. i. 46.

† Herodotus more than once speaks of the Acheron as flowing through Thesprotia; a description which is not entirely applicable to the modern Kalama. Strabo, following the line of the coast southwards, describes in succession to the small isles of Sybota, and the Cheimerium promontory, the Γλυκυς λιμην, εις ὁν εμβαλλει ὁ Αχερων, ποταμος ρεων εκ της Αχερουσιας λιμνης, και δεχομενος πλειους ποταμους, ωστε και γλυκαινειν τον κολπον. — The port Glykys, here mentioned, retains its name to the present time. The enumeration given by Ptolemy of the places on this coast, entirely corresponds with the same relative situ-

it is interesting to notice, that the small isles of Sybota, and the port called Glykys, at the mouth of the Acheron, both of which are important in the description of these authors, actually retain the same names to the present day. It is an additional proof of the river of Suli being the true Acheron, that there is within less than a mile of its mouth, a small lake, or expanse of the river, corresponding well in situation with the Αχερουσια λιμνη of Thucydides*; while, in the course of the Kalama, I am not aware of there being any lake but that Tzerovina, which is far distant from the coast, and forms in fact one of the sources of the river. This does not better accord with the Acherusian pool, than the lake of Ioannina, which some have supposed to represent it; and there can be little doubt that the Kalama is the Thyamis, and not the Acheron of antiquity.

It is well known that the names of Acherusia and Acheron were not limited to Epirus; but it appears certain that the lake and river of this region were the most celebrated, and perhaps the most antiently known in their connection with mythology†. The story of Pirithous, Theseus, and Hercules, is doubtless related to this spot, probably also, that of the descent of Orpheus into hell. I enquired, when at Suli, respecting the quality of the waters of the river. It was told me, that at particular times they were remarkable for an offensive taste and odour; but as I could not myself perceive this, I

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ation of the Acheron; and Eustathius, in his commentary on the 10th book of the Odyssey, renders it evident that the river of Suli represents this celebrated stream, falling into the sea at the port Glykys.

* I was not at this spot, but I learn from Psalida, that the lake is about three miles long, and a mile and a half in breadth, not very deep, and surrounded by hills of small elevation.

† Pausanias, (lib. ii. p. 196.) mentions an Acherusia near Corinth; and Diodorus Siculus, (lib. i. 86.) speaks of one in Egypt, in the neighbourhood of the Catacombs. It appears from Strabo, that there was an Acheron in Elis, and we learn from Pomponius Mela, (lib. i. c. 19.) of another river of this name in Phrygia. That of Italy is well known.

H.Holland del. John Le Keux sculp.

Suli Mountains from Aia Glyky.

do not venture to cite it as a further proof of the identity of this stream, with the Acheron.

I continued my route along the extraordinary valley I have described, following a rugged path which winds among the rocks, forming its eastern barrier, at the height probably of 600 or 700 feet above the bed of the river. When advanced about four miles within the Pass, we turned suddenly to the right, up a deep recess among the mountains. From this place there seems to be no egress; vast pine-covered precipices meet the eye on every side, and no one point seems accessible beyond the spot where you stand at the moment. A second sudden turn brought me to an ascending cork-screw path, so steep and rugged, that it was with infinite difficulty the luggage-horses could gain the summit. This circuit is necessary from the increasing abruptness of the chasm through which the river flows, as it approaches the central part of Suli. From the lofty point I had now attained, the scenery of this central region opened out in a very magnificent manner. The insulated mountain heights, on which stand the fortresses of Suli, already seen at intervals through the deep Pass by which we had been approaching them, were now directly in front of the landscape; the river flowing in its profound channel underneath, but here entirely concealed from view. We hastened our progress towards the principal of these fortresses; and Tachir Aga, with another soldier, went forward to announce our approach to his father the commandant.

While approaching the great fortress, or Seraglio of Suli, we passed through two of the Suliote villages, now completely ruined and without inhabitants; many of the houses thrown down, others destroyed by fire. The Kako Suli, as the most northerly of these villages was called, contained formerly some hundred habitations, all of which are now in ruins. The ascent to the insulated hill, on which are placed the Seraglio, and two other of the fortresses, built by Ali Pasha, for the security of the place, is just beyond this ruined village. On my entrance into the area of the Seraglio, I was complimented by a salute of four cannon, and a volley of small arms;

the reverberation of the sound from the neighbouring mountains was wonderfully fine. I was met at the foot of the great stairs by Mouctar Aga, the commandant; and conducted through two long galleries, into a large apartment in which the Vizier resided, during two visits he has made to Suli. Mouctar Aga was a fine looking man, between 50 and 60; of pleasing manners and much politeness. Besides the recommendation of being born in a district near Tepeleni, where the population are personally attached to the Vizier; he has served with great credit in the wars of Ali, and was the first person wounded in the battle with the French at Nicopolis. His situation at Suli is one of high trust, and he has occupied it ever since the country was subdued. The Vizier, I found, had sent him a letter by his son, enjoining him to shew me the utmost attention, as long as I chose to remain at Suli. I was accordingly received with great deference, and had but to express a wish on any subject, to obtain its gratification.

While smoking with the Aga, soon after my arrival, he gave me some anecdotes of that singular warfare with the Suliotes, which during seventeen years, occupied at intervals much of the attention and military resources of Ali Pasha. The people of these mountains, who, from their wild and secluded situation, had acquired all the characters of a distinct tribe, inhabited ten or twelve large villages, the principal of which was distant about a mile from the modern Seraglio. They were Albanians in origin, belonging to the division of that people called the Tzamides. While many of their countrymen had become Mahometans, the Suliotes retained the Christian religion, but in a rudeness of form accordant with the manner in which they lived. Their number probably never exceeded 12,000, of whom between three and four thousand were capable of bearing arms. The peculiarities of their situation gave a wildness and masculine daring to their character which distinguished them from the other Albanian tribes. The Suliote women partook the dangers of war with their husbands, and bore together with them the miseries which their community afterwards suffered. It is related as an

anecdote, that at one of the fountains of Suli, the females settled the precedence in drawing water, according to the respective bravery their husbands had displayed in battle; and in the progress of the war with Ali Pasha, some of their number displayed a fearless resolution, which could not easily be surpassed by the other sex.

In noticing, however, this feature of the Suliotes, it is necessary to add, that it was in some measure the bravery of a band of robbers, organized into social life, continuing their character through successive generations, and combining some generous qualities with their rapine and ferocity of habit. They were the terror of the southern part of Albania; and the descent of the Suliotes from their mountain-fastnesses, for the sake of plunder or vengeance, was a general signal of alarm to the surrounding country. The region of Suli was itself rarely approached either by friend or enemy, and had never been subdued by the Turkish power in Albania. The ambitious spirit of Ali Pasha could not tolerate the vicinity of a people who insulted his authority, and pursued their predatory excursions, even into the plains surrounding his capital. His first efforts against them were comparatively feeble, and only very partially successful. As his power increased, his hostility became more formidable, but was still diverted at intervals by the other enterprizes he was carrying on. Year after year an irregular warfare continued, many of the details of which, though in themselves of little importance, are carefully preserved in the Albanian songs. The Suliotes depended chiefly on the nature of their country and their own knowledge of it, and had few fortifications but those of their native passes and cliffs. The interior region of Suli is accessible only from two or three points, and these approaches of such a kind that no number of troops could be of avail against them. If their enemies gained any advance of ground during the summer, they were generally obliged to relinquish it in the succeeding winter, the situation and desperate bravery of the Suliotes giving them the advantage which they wanted in numbers. The troops of Ali Pasha were stationed for the most part at the entrance of the passes, while the Vizier himself employed bribery and other indirect means in aiding

the efforts of open force. The treacherous seizure of Giavella, one of the Suliote leaders, did but animate the spirit of this people, who were aware that mercy was not to be looked for from the hands of Ali Pasha.

The warfare continued of this kind until within two or three years of its termination. The Vizier at this time devoted more attention and a larger force to bring it to an end. His troops thus employed are said to have been occasionally as many as 15,000 men, and his sons Mouctar and Veli were repeatedly their leaders in the war. At length he succeeded in gaining possession of a mountain which is elevated, though at some distance, above the Kiafa of Souli, the site of the modern fortress; and here a building was erected for the shelter of his troops. The Suliotes still, however, maintained their ground; and it is said that the Vizier accomplished his final object chiefly by the bribes and promises he held out to their principal leaders. His soldiers, thus aided, entered by force the villages of Suli, and possessed themselves of the slight artificial defences which the Suliotes had prepared. The latter, headed by their priests, and animated by their women, continued the combat to the last. A female named Cheitho distinguished herself greatly in this extremity; and Samuel, one of the Suliote priests and leaders, is said to have blown up the building he had been defending, when it could no longer be saved from the enemy. Finding themselves surrounded, and losing at length every hope, they became desperate; a considerable number cut their way through Ali's troops and fled; some slew themselves; a greater number were slain. It is related as an authentic story, that a groupe of Suliote women assembled on one of the precipices adjoining the modern Seraglio, and threw their infants into the chasm below, that they might not become the slaves of the enemy. A part of the community found refuge in Parga and Corfu, it is said by agreement with the Vizier, who probably adopted this measure to prevent the effects of despair in a brave people. His intention, however, was obvious of extirpating the race from the country. He destroyed in great part the towns of Suli, and peopled the few habitations which were left

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Seraglio of Suli.

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with Albanians from the northern part of his territory. The principal village of Suli, to the north of the Seraglio, now contains scarcely an hundred inhabited houses. On the two great insulated cliffs, which impend over the river in this central part of the region, Ali Pasha erected his fortresses, keeping always a considerable number of troops here, and thus rendering the interior of his dominions more secure by positions which were once a principal disturbance to his power.

This war with the Suliotes terminated about ten years ago. While travelling in Albania, I heard various other anecdotes, illustrating the bravery of this people, and the stratagems employed on both sides. I do not detail these, as I cannot vouch for their authenticity, and as they might appear to give too much importance to the warfare against a small mountain-tribe of Albania.

The Seraglio of Suli is included within the area of the great fortress, recently erected by Ali Pasha. In architecture it is much the same as other Turkish buildings; in situation it is scarcely perhaps to be paralleled. From the great gallery you look down a precipice not much less, probably, than a thousand feet in height, into the dark waters of the river below, which so seen, is a fit representative of the ancient Acheron. On every side is scenery of the wildest and most extraordinary nature, with a disorderly magnificence about it, which forms perhaps its most striking peculiarity. The mountains and precipices, all on the greatest scale, are thrown confusedly around, as if some other agency than the slow working of nature had operated to produce these effects. The eye, looking generally over the scene, is perplexed at first by its vastness and intricacy, and requires some time to select the objects on which to repose. Towards the south, and over the peaked summits which environ the Seraglio, is seen the long chasm-like channel of the Acheron; beyond it the country stretching down to the gulph of Arta, the gulph itself and the mountains of Acarnania in the remote distance. To the west, you look down precipices intersected by deep ravines to that point in the river, where, receiving the stream of Zagouri from the north, it turns at once to the west; and continuing its course for some way between cliffs of immense

height, makes a sudden exit from its confined channel to the wide and fertile plains of Paramithia. Its windings on these plains may be far traced, while the distant landscape embraces the sea and chains of hills stretching along the coast. The view towards the north is full of the finest mountain scenery; it is, in fact, a vast amphitheatre of mountains, the space within not a plain country, but every-where intersected by ridges and profound ravines. Through the principal of these ravines flows the river Zagouri, the dark and secluded character of which might admit of its being called the Cocytus, were there not some doubt as to the situation of this stream, in reference to the Acheron and the Acherusian lake. The remains of several of the Suliote villages appear at intervals among the cliffs which border on these deep vallies.

The mountain on which the fortresses of Suli have been erected, has a singular semi-lunar form; terminating at the summit in a ridge so narrow, as barely to admit a narrow path, leading from one fortress to another. Of the buildings in this situation, only the fortress of the Seraglio is fortified with cannon, some pieces of which I observed to be of English manufacture; two other edifices are inhabited by Albanian soldiers; the fourth, placed on the highest pinnacle, to the north of the Seraglio, has never yet been completed. Having been twice struck with lightning, a superstitious belief has arisen, that it is impossible to erect any building on this spot, and the work has been discontinued. Between this pinnacle and the Seraglio, an immense ravine descends from the summit of the ridge, so nearly perpendicular, that a fragment of rock thrown down, may be heard, after a long interval, plunging into the waters of the river below. From one of the precipices impending over this ravine, it is related that the Suliote women threw their children, when the contest for their liberty had come to an end. To such a spot the epithet given by Aristophanes, Αχερουσιος σκοπελος αιματοσταγης, "*the rock of Acheron dropping blood,*" may indeed be well applied. *

* Aristoph. Βατραχ. 474.

Separated from the northern extremity of this mountain by a deep hollow, is another insulated ridge, on which has also been erected a large fortress, commanding the road to the plains of Paramithia, which descends between the two. The village of Suli is situated under this fortress on the eastern side. A mosque has lately been built here for its present Mussulman population.

The whole groupe of the Suli mountains, as well as the rocks, that form the eastern barrier of the valley, are composed of the white conchoidal limestone, formerly described, containing a great quantity of flint, which is for the most part arranged in alternate layers, but in some places also in nodules in the limestone. These layers, which vary in thickness from a few lines to two or three inches, are sometimes well defined in their junction with the limestone; in other places there is an apparent transition from one to the other, or frequently a thin seam of oxide of iron, and decomposed earth, interposed between them. The nodules are generally much shattered, so as to break into small angular fragments with a slight blow of the hammer. In various parts of the cliffs of Suli, the limestone is exposed in a series of regular beds to a great extent, and in some places with a very great inclination.

I remained in the Seraglio of Suli till the 4th of March, making excursions in its immediate vicinity; and with a sextant and compasses, laying down the outline of the country on paper, as accurately as could be done from two or three points of view*. The old Aga, though lame from his wounds, walked with me to visit the different fortresses; and was assiduous in his civilities within the Seraglio. An excellent dinner, consisting of ten or twelve dishes, was each day served up to me in the Turkish style; the *chalva*, *dulma*, and other dishes cooked in the best manner, by the females of the family; whom, however, the Turkish usage prevented me from seeing, during my stay here. I was waited upon at dinner by three or four Alba-

* These papers, with maps of other parts of Albania, I afterwards lost.

nian soldiers, dressed in the manner of their country. My guard, Tachir, was not allowed to sit down in the presence of his father who maintained much state and dignity in his situation. This old man shewed the utmost veneration for his master, Ali Pasha; and gave me some interesting anecdotes regarding a period of his life, when he was but beginning his career.

Among the other guards of the Seraglio of Suli, were a number of dogs, the most ferocious animals of their species I recollect to have seen. Their presence made it impossible to move out of doors, without the protection of some of the Albanians stationed in the fortress.

CHAP. XXII.

DEPARTURE FROM SULI. — AIA-GLYKY. — PARAMITHIA. — SULLOPIA. — JOURNEY DOWN THE RIVER KALAMA. — SOULIAS. — RUINS AT PALAIA-VENETIA. — RETURN TO PARAMITHIA. — ROUTE TO IOANNINA. — RUINS NEAR DRAMASUS. — RESIDENCE AT IOANNINA.

ON the 4th of March, after exchanging salutations with Mouctar Aga, I quitted the Seraglio of Suli. Though this edifice seems almost to hang over the junction of the Zagouri with the river of Suli, yet it required a steep descent of nearly an hour to reach this spot. Crossing the river at the point where it suddenly turns to the west, we continued our course on its southern side, sometimes receding to avoid the deep chasms which descend to it; sometimes pursuing a dangerous path on narrow ledges of rock which hang over its waters. One point in this route is very extraordinary, where the path, scarcely four feet in width, passes at the height of about 150 feet above the river, and so entirely impends over it, that a stone dropped from the hand, somewhat stretched out, falls far within the water. Above the head are great cliffs, forming a magnificent front on this side the river; while on the other, the precipices are equally abrupt, and the mountain rises above into heights, which at this time were deeply covered with snow. The poplars appearing at intervals among the scenery, brought to mind the old story of Hercules having brought this tree from the banks of the Acheron into other parts of Greece. The Pass, formed at this place is almost impracticable to the traveller; wholly so to an enemy. Just below it on the northern side, a large stream joins the river, by a subterraneous channel through the rocks, from which it rushes out with

great violence. Nothing can be finer than the retrospective view from this point, of the cliffs, peaks, and fortresses of Suli.

The broad valley of Paramithia, or as it is generally called, the plain of Glyky, now opened at once before us; and the river, leaving its dark channel, spread out into a wide stream, which flows in a winding course towards the sea. The distance of Porto Fanari, or the Port Glykys, which is its æstuary, may be from 16 to 20 miles, in a south-west direction from this place. The river in this interval has the name of Glyky, derived no doubt from the ancient name of this æstuary. The plain through which it flows is very fertile, and there are many large villages upon it. The ancient towns of Pandosia and Ephyre were situated in this district *; and to go further back into old times, we may suppose that here were the dominions of Aidoneus, or Pluto; by whom Theseus and Pirithous were imprisoned, in consequence of the unlawful attempt of the latter, to carry away his wife. The history, and its connection with the mythology of the infernal regions, may further be maintained, by supposing that Hercules, coming to the release of his friends, penetrated through the Passes of Suli, which no very violent metaphor would make into the jaws of hell, and thence entered the territory of Aidoneus. There are certainly passages in ancient mythology, which derive less vindication than this from the places where their scenery is laid.

I crossed the river a second time, where it comes out from the Passes of Suli. Here its breadth may be about that of the Thames at Oxford. I remained two hours at a guard-house on its northern bank, called Aia-Glyky, from a church which formerly stood on this spot, but which was thrown down during the war with the Suliotes. Among the ruins of the church, I found the remains of

* Pandosia is known in connection with the Dodonæan oracle, which denounced to Alexander king of Epirus, that he should avoid this city and the Acherusian water. He did so in Epirus, but found his death in Italy, where there were places of the same name.

seven columns of Egyptian granite, and several of marble; some of which, from a capital in the wall of the guard-house, I presume to have been of the Corinthian Order. There was also a marble pavement of the church; and I was told one or two inscriptions, which unfortunately at this time were covered by the Indian-corn and rice, forming the stores of the guard-house. Of the date, or history of this church, I am unable to speak. If there were any ancient city on the spot, it possibly might have been Pandosia, though it must be added that the character of the remains just described, does not indicate remote antiquity.

Thirty soldiers are stationed at Aia-Glyky, which in the war of Suli, was a point of much importance. Having received notice of my intended arrival, these men had roasted a large goat, which, with coffee, pipes, milk, and honey, was set before me soon after my arrival.

From this place to the city of Paramithia, is five hours journey, in a north direction, along the broad valley, through which the river of Paramithia flows to join that of Suli. This valley, the breadth of which varies from three to five miles, is fertile and well cultivated; the products chiefly maize, wheat, rice, tobacco, &c. Its boundary on the eastern side is the range of the Suli mountains, continued towards the north, and forming a continuous line of precipices of vast height; on the western side a chain of hills, much less lofty, but terminating somewhat abruptly towards the valley, and exhibiting in their sections a fine example of inclined and contorted stratification. This composition is wholly calcareous.

The plain of Paramithia is very populous; numerous towns and villages appearing in very picturesque situations on the skirts of the mountains; some of these almost enveloped in wood. The greater number have a Mussulman population, others are exclusively inhabited by Christians; the local separation of the two religions being for the most part very distinct. The most considerable of these towns is Carbonari, on the western side of the valley, said to contain nearly 800 houses.

The city of Paramithia is situated near the upper extremity of the plain, on the lower part of the mountains, forming it's eastern boundary. The town, however, rises so far up the ascent, that there is a difference of level of four or five hundred feet between the lower and higher parts of it. The upper extremity is formed by a bold projecting mass of rock, on which stands the old castle of Paramithia. On another insulated hill is situated a small fortress or guard-house. The city contains about 9000 inhabitants; but is built so irregularly, as to cover a surface proportionally much more extensive; the houses no where being collected into regular streets, except in the Bazars, which form the central part of the town. The greater part of the population is Mussulman, and there are five mosques in the place. It is, however, also, the seat of a Greek bishopric, conjointly with Parga; the bishop taking his title from both places.

The mountains, which are a continuation of those of Suli, rise to a great height directly above Paramithia. In two or three places, within a few miles of the city, there are the remains of ancient walls, indicating the situation of some of the ancient towns or castles of Epirus. I had the opportunity of seeing only one of these places, about four miles to the south of the city. It was an object of some interest with me to enquire at Parimithia, respecting the beautiful bronzes said to have been found here; some of which are at present in the fine collection of R. P. Knight, Esq.; a few in the possession of J. Hawkins, Esq.; and several reported still to remain in Russia, whence those now in England were obtained*. I lodged at Paramithia, in the house of a Greek of some intelligence, and several

* Mr. Knight has eight entire bronze figures, said to come from Paramithia, of which two Jupiters and an Apollo are among the most beautiful pieces. He posseses also three fragments of the same reputed origin; one of a bronze representing Ulysses carried out of the cave under the ram. Five of the Paramithian bronzes are said to remain in Russia; but in whose possession is not exactly known. Nor is it well ascertained how they were carried into that country from Greece.

other Greeks of the city came in to visit me; but, after every inquiry, I was unable either to learn any thing as to the bronzes actually discovered, or to ascertain the existence of others on the spot. I left a commission with one of the Greeks to make further enquiries for me, which, as I afterwards heard, were equally unavailing.

While at Paramithia, I decided on making an excursion down the river Kalama, the ancient Thyamis, which flows through the district to the north of the city. At this time I had an idea, which is certainly a mistaken one, that the site of the oracle of Dodona was to be sought for in this part of Epirus. I also wished to examine the ruins of a large city, which were described to me as being on the banks of the Kalama, a day's journey from Paramithia, and which Meletius calls the site of the ancient Pandosia. For this excursion I obtained an additional guide from the Aga, commanding at Paramithia, who had received a written order from the Vizier to forward my views in every instance.

Leaving Paramithia early in the morning, I proceeded in a north-west direction to the upper part of the valley, where the river, which takes its name from the city, has its sources in various torrents, gushing out suddenly from the limestone rocks, and supplying the tobacco and corn-mills which have been erected here. At the village of Neochori, I ascended a ridge of hill, from the summit of which was seen the beautiful valley of the Kalama in front; and beyond this a hilly and picturesque country, rising in the distance into lofty snow-covered mountains. We descended through a village, built amidst a grove of trees to the banks of the Kalama, which here is about sixty yards in width, and brings down a large stream of water. This river rises in the country to the north of Ioannina; and the general outline of its course is in a south-west direction towards the Ionian Sea, which it enters nearly opposite the southern extremity of the isle of Corfu.

Having been informed of some ruins in the vicinity of Sullopia, a village to the north of the river, I deviated from my proposed route to go thither. We forded over the Kalama, not without much diffi-

culty, though following the directions of some peasants, whom the authority of my Albanian guards had summoned to the spot. The view up the valley from this point is very striking; its boundaries, particularly on the east side being formed by the precipices, which may be considered to terminate in this direction, the range of the Suli mountains. From the right bank of the river, I proceeded to Sullopia, distant about twelve miles from Paramithia. It was well that I had entertained but slender hopes of discovery here. Instead of ancient remains, I found only a wretched village of Turkish Albanians; the few inhabitants I saw in which, regarded me with suspicion and anger; and, but for the menaces of my soldiers, would probably have driven me from the spot. My enquiries, as to ruins in the vicinity, were wholly fruitless, and scarcely answered but by compulsion.

Quitting this place with few regrets, I continued my course for some miles in a south-west direction to regain the banks of the Kalama, through a hilly but fertile country, with many villages scattered over its surface. We came again to the river, five miles below where we had forded over it, and at a place where it enters a narrow defile, between perpendicular limestone cliffs of great height. These cliffs present a very fine stratification of the rock, which is also singularly broken into tabular masses of large size. I ascended an elevated point to the ruins of a tower, whence I had a very striking view of the ravine through which the river flows beneath. Passing through this ravine, which is two miles in length, we came upon a circular plain, where the soil is extremely rich, and the tillage of the ground, chiefly for maize, conducted with great neatness. A number of villages appear on the skirts of the surrounding hills, the houses grouped among the trees, and the landscape remarkably pleasing in its character, with more of softness than usually belongs to the scenery of Albania.

On a richly wooded hill, on the left bank of the Kalama, stands the town of Soulias, where I proposed to pass the night. We crossed the river, which is here deep and rapid, by a horse ferry, and ascended

to the town, which is several hundred feet above, by a steep and winding path. I was interested by finding the whole of this hill to be composed of a highly crystallized lamellar gypsum; the effect of the colours and crystalline appearance of which was in many places very beautiful. Nothing can be more picturesque than the interior aspect of Soulias; the houses scattered through a thick wood of olives and other trees, and deep glens intersecting the town in different directions; while the elevated situation shews at intervals, through breaks in the wood, the views of distant mountains, or of the vallies and river below.

An application to the Codja-Bashee of the place procured me a lodging in the house of a Greek priest, a poor old man, whose habitation consisted of a single room, with an earthen flooring, and little other furniture than the straw mats, on which he himself, his wife, and four children, slept around the fire. He was extremely loquacious; and, in the evening, having taken somewhat too much *rachi*, or spirits, became vociferously merry. He talked much of the discoveries he had made among the ruins at Palaia-Venetia; which discoveries, as I afterwards found, had no existence but in his own fancy. He spoke also, with an air of mystery, of the ancient treasures concealed at this place, and gave some strange anecdotes of a nameless Italian who had come hither in a secret manner, and availed himself of some peculiar means of finding out where these treasures lay. In the course of the evening I visited two or three adjoining cottages, to examine stones with inscriptions upon them, which had been brought hither from the ruins. All the inscriptions were sepulchral, and afforded nothing very interesting. The eldest son of my host joined us at night, a young man who had served in the Albanian regiment of the King of Naples, and had recently returned from Sicily, in consequence of the regiment being disbanded.

The following morning I visited the ruins at Palaia-Venetia, on the northern bank of the Kalama, two or three miles below Soulias. Besides my other guards, I was accompanied to this spot by three Albanian soldiers, sent by the commandant of Soulias, nominally to

do me honour; but really, as I had cause to believe, to act as a watch upon me, and observe if I discovered any thing precious. The story of treasures existing here is very general in the vicinity, and entirely credited by the inhabitants. Why these ruins have been selected for such rumours, in preference to others, I am unable to say.

Crossing the river, we continued along its right bank to the spot. On each side, the valley, which is narrow, is bounded by hills of moderate height, composed entirely of the same gypsum which forms the hill of Soulias. The highest point of these hills which I saw, may perhaps be about 500 feet above the level of the river. The gypsum is, for the most part, of a greyish white colour, in some places with a tinge of blue.

The ruins at Palaia-Venetia are within a bend of the Kalama, which leaves a considerable extent of nearly level surface, below the hills, on the north side of the river. In their present state, they consist of little more than the ancient walls, which, after following the semi-circular bend of the river, on the edge of the declivity that overhangs it, ascend on the western side the hill behind the city, and skirt along it even to the summit. The situation is still further insulated by the deep valley of a river, which, descending from the mountains to the north, joins the Kalama just at the place where the bend is completed, and the river resumes its former course. The walls are built in the accustomed manner of square or oblong stones, which are of the largest size, where the structure is most regular. I measured several which were six, eight, or ten feet in length, with a breadth of three or four feet. In one place, the remains of a large gateway are very distinct; about 200 yards from which a great wall branches off from that surrounding the city, and descends to the edge of the river; where there are the remains of a square building, perhaps intended to prevent the passage of an enemy along the flat ground which lies close to the river, or possibly to protect from attack those who were employed to bring up water to the city.

Within the outer walls are others, which appear to traverse the city in different directions, and also the ruins of houses and other

buildings. I observed many sculptured fragments, particularly in one spot, where I think it probable are some of the sepulchres of the city. After much search, however, I could not find a single stone with any inscription upon it, nor did I see any columns or vestiges of temples upon the spot.

The circumference of the area, occupied by the city, may be somewhat more than two miles. I ascended the hill behind the ruins, following the course of the wall. From the summit, where there is now a small Greek church, I had a very extensive view of the great plains through which the Kalama flows from this place towards the sea. The coast itself enters into the view at intervals, from the port of Parga, northwards to the promontories formed by a chain of hills which meet the sea opposite to Corfu. This island stretches to a great extent before the eye; and even the city of Corfu was distinctly visible at the head of a bay on the eastern side of the isle. On the declivity of the chain of hills, just mentioned, I remarked the large town of Saiathes. Another considerable place, called Margariti, was also comprehended in the view before me. The peninsula of Parga formed a distinct feature in the landscape; the town upon which has usually been annexed to the possession of Corfu, and together with this island passed from the power of the Venetians successively into that of the Russians and French. At this time the French flag was flying on its fortifications, and the possession was certainly of some importance in reference to Corfu, as affording a point of connection with the continent, and of refuge against the English cruisers, who were stationed here to blockade the island. It is the only point on this coast which does not belong to Ali Pasha, who would gladly make himself master of the place. The inhabitants, however, are extremely averse to him; and even if left without aid, would probably avail themselves of their position to make a vigorous resistance to his views.*

* The French flag has recently been removed from Parga, as well as from Corfu. I see it stated in the Austrian newspapers (August 1, 1814.), that Ali Pasha made an attempt to

We are furnished with but scanty materials as to the ancient geography of this part of Epirus,—a deficiency which is very evident in all the modern attempts to illustrate it. It appears generally that the portion of Thesprotia, stretching into the interior between the rivers Thyamis and Acheron, had the name of Cassiopeia; derived perhaps in the first instance from some relation to the city of Cassiopeia, on the opposite coast of Corfu, but afterwards, as it would seem, describing a distinct power in Epirus. Strabo speaks of four cities in this district, Buchœtium, Elatria, Batiæ, and Pandosia; but it may be inferred from Ptolemy, and other authors, that there was also a city expressly called Cassiope *, and this probably at some distance from the coast. It seems likely that the ruins just described are those of one of these cities, or possibly of the Gitanæ mentioned by Livy, but I cannot venture to decide which. Meletius has called them the remains of Pandosia; but this was under the idea of the Kalama being the Acheron, on or near to which river it appears certain that Pandosia was situated. This supposition regarding the Kalama has already been mentioned as an erroneous one. Fortunately the doubt is of little importance, since there are very few passages in history which would obtain illustration from its solution.

It may be worthy of mention, that the houses and estates of T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, were situated on the plains near the mouth of the Thyamis, doubtless on some part of the landscape upon which I looked down from the hill at Palaia-Venetia? Frequent allusion is made to this place in the letters of Cicero and elsewhere.†

take the place from the natives, in the spring of 1814, but failed from the necessity of drawing off his troops, to resist some real or supposed danger on the other side of his territory. It is added to this statement that an English force had taken possession of the town.

* There is some perplexity as to this point, since Ptolemy speaks also of a port Cassiope on the coast of Chaonia.

† Epist. ad Attic. lib. iii. lib. vii. &c. Cornelius Nepos says, that the estates of Atticus were situated almost wholly in Epirus.

A hilly country extends along the coast, to the north of the Kalama, sheltering the port of Butrinto, which is directly opposite to the isle of Corfu. This place, now of very small importance, was the Buthrotum of antiquity, well known in the narrative of the Æneid; its port, the Portus Pelodes of the same age. Still farther to the north, the promontory of Posidium may be recognized; but this part of the coast I had not the opportunity of surveying, during my stay in Albania.

After remaining some time on the hill above the ruins, I descended to my guards whom I had left below. I found three of them amusing themselves by discharging their loaded fusils at some peasants, who were ploughing on the opposite side of the river; while Tachir was abusing with much vehemence, and many blows, another poor peasant, who had declared his ignorance of any concealed treasures among the ruins, and was unwilling to be dragged by force from his plough, on a search, where he had no information to give. Releasing these poor people, by drawing off my rude Albanians, I returned to Soulias, and revisited the old priest, who was now perfectly sober; and a little ashamed when I reminded him of the discoveries, of which he had boasted among the ruins. He fairly confessed, however, whence these discoveries came; and we concluded our acquaintance in good humour, by making together a meal on eggs and goat's milk.

In returning to Paramithia from this place, I travelled along the southern bank of the Kalama, passing in my way through several large villages, inhabited by Albanians, chiefly Mussulmans in their religion. In one of these villages, called Ratzari, I was struck by the appearance of 40 or 50 houses burnt down, or destroyed. On enquiry I found that there had been a feud of long continuance in the place; which ended in the more powerful party destroying the habitations of their enemies, and driving them out with fire and sword. Near this place, the flint occurring in the limestone is sufficiently good to be used for the manufacture of gun-flints.

I was received by my former host at Paramithia with a profusion of caresses, which made me suspect some reason for this superfluous civility. The matter was afterwards explained by a request, that I would use my influence with the Vizier to induce him to remit the payment of 1000 piastres, which had recently been required from my host. I was obliged to decline all interference in the business; promising, however, that I would speak to the Vizier of the kindness with which I had been entertained by the family.

Early on the 7th of March, I quitted Paramithia, on my way to Ioannina, which is distant about twelve hours journey in an east direction. A steep ascent of some miles, through a Pass in the mountains to the north-east of the city, brought me to a wild and rugged spot, where, when Ali Pasha took Paramithia, his troops had an action with the people of the place, in which about 140 men were killed. Thence we descended along the valley of a stream, which, after uniting with a more considerable one from the south, flows northwards to join the Kalama. The view from this route of the northern extremity of the Suli mountains is very fine. Near the junction of the two rivers, we found the dead body of a man, who, as we learnt from a peasant, had been murdered here two days before. This act was said to have been committed by robbers, but the story was told in a doubtful manner.

We were now in sight of the mountain-ridge, called Olitzka; — that which is seen from Ioannina in a south-west direction. Its general aspect is very striking, as well from the great elevation, as from the gracefulness of the outline, in which there is a good deal of resemblance to that of Helicon in Bœotia. The tract of country between Olitzka, and the Suli mountains, is occupied by successive ranges of hills, of subordinate formation to the great chains, which traverse the country. These hills seem to be chiefly composed of the *debris* of old calcareous rocks, forming a loose conglomerate, extremely subject to decay; in consequence of which this district is every-where intersected by deep vallies and hollows. Between Paramithia, and the

ridge of Olitzka, the population of the country is very small. Not more than two or three villages occurred to my notice during the whole route.

Making a circuit round the northern extremity of Olitzka, I stopped for the night at Dramasus; a village situate on the eastern front of the mountain, and at a great height above the plain, which lies at its feet. My Albanians conducted me to a guard-house, inhabited by 20 or 30 soldiers; and to avoid the trouble of seeking a house in the village, I decided on passing the night here. It was, however, a dismal and wretched place; the room in which I slept had no windows, but six or eight large holes in the wall; as many in the roofing, and twice the number in the floor. The soldiers kindled for me a large fire, and a Greek priest brought wine and provisions from the village; but nevertheless I passed the night with much discomfort from the excessive cold. A northerly wind, and our vicinity to the snows of Olitzka, brought the thermometer as low as 28°; and the next morning much ice lay upon the ground.

Ioannina is distant twelve miles from Dramasus. On my way thither I made a short circuit towards the south, to visit the remains of an ancient city in the valley, which lies on the eastern side of Olitzka. These ruins are unquestionably more interesting than any other in Epirus, and would be remarkable in any part of Greece, for the magnificent theatre which appears among them; and which in size, as well as in beauty of structure, is perhaps not equalled by any other similar edifice in this country *. The architecture is of the ancient Greek kind; the stones employed in the building are of a large size, and worked with extreme accuracy. When on the spot, I took the different dimensions of the theatre with some care; but these measurements were afterwards lost, together with my other papers; a circumstance which the previous researches of Major Leake in the

* I have not seen the great theatre at Epidaurus in the Argolis, but from all that I can learn, that among the ruins below Olitzka is still more considerable in its remains.

same place, not then known to me, will probably have little room to regret. If I rightly recollect, it appeared from the estimate I made, that the theatre might contain about 12,000 spectators. The number of seats is 56; giving a great elevation to the building, and a proportional extent to the proscenium, orchestra, and other parts of it.

At a short distance from the theatre are the remains of a small temple. The lower portions of 14 columns are still to be seen, forming two rows, about 16 feet asunder; and near to them two other columns, which from their situation may possibly have belonged to a propyleum. These columns are formed of a coarse limestone conglomerate, the fragments in which are all angular, and so attached, as scarcely to admit of a plain surface. The remains of some fluted Doric columns appear among the other ruins of this edifice, composed of a fine calcareous conglomerate, of a greyish white colour. These fragments are now scattered upon the ground, and their original situation is not very distinct. A stone, containing part of a groupe in bas-relief, occurred to my notice; but so much defaced, that the only portion distinguishable was a male figure, of Herculean make, struggling with a serpent.

The remains of the walls of the city are extensive, including the area of a gently rising ground within the valley. At no great distance from the temple, there is a curious subterranean vault, quadrilateral in form, and supported entirely by pillars. Some of the stones here might almost rival those in the treasury at Mycenæ.

These ruins have hitherto been almost unknown to the antiquarian; and notwithstanding their magnitude, it is not yet well ascertained what ancient city they represent. Some of the literary Greeks of Ioannina speak of them as the ruins of Cassiopeia; and give to the ridge of Olitzka the name of the Cassiopeian mountains; but I am not aware that the opinion has any certain authority, and it may be doubted whether the city of Cassiopeia was so far inland as this spot. I do not know of any inscription found here, or any coin which may explain the history of the place. I have

not, in any other part of Epirus, seen the remains of a Greek theatre; and it is certainly singular, that a city large enough to give such a monument to posterity, should not more distinctly be noticed by ancient writers.

A low chain of hills divides this valley from the plains of Ioannina. The view from the summit, which includes these plains, the lake, and the height of the Pindus chain in the distance, is wonderfully imposing. I have formerly noticed the very striking entrance into Ioannina from the road of Paramithia. It is perhaps the most remarkable of the approaches to the city, from the suddenness with which the fine scenery of the lake, Seraglio, and mosques is brought before the eye.

On my arrival at Ioannina, I found that the Vizier had reached this city two days before. I sent a soldier to the Seraglio to mention my arrival, who soon after returned with one of the Greek attendants of the palace, commissioned to conduct me to my lodging. The house appointed for me belonged to Demetrius Athanasius; formerly mentioned as one of the most respectable of the Ioannina merchants. It was inhabited by a relative of the family, the lady of a merchant named Poulizo, now resident at Belgrade, who lived here with her mother-in-law, and a retinue of several domestics. A large apartment, well furnished in the Greek manner, was appropriated to my use, and every attention paid to my comfort both by the family of my hostess, and by that of Demetrius. The season of the long Greek fast, of 48 days preceding Easter, had just commenced; and during this early part of it, even fish or milk in any shape, are prohibited by the rites of the church. A separate table, however, was provided for me, and well furnished with dishes of the kind formerly described at a Greek dinner.

Soon after my arrival, I went to visit the family of my old host, Michael Metzou, by whom I was received with a cordiality of kindness that was extremely gratifying. Many of my former friends, Psalida, Sakallarius, Lucas, Mela, and others, called upon me at my lodging; and I received visits also from Koletti, the physician of

Mouctar Pasha, and Chipriasli one of the physicians of the city, whom I had not seen, when formerly here. Another of those who called upon me was a Neapolitan physician, lately come to Ioannina, who entitled me *caro amico* before he had been ten minutes in the room, talked with infinite fluency for half an hour, and quitted me with a profusion of gestures and salutations. This poor man, driven from Naples by the revolutions there, came to Ioannina, with the desire to obtain a place as one of the physicians of Ali Pasha. This the Vizier would not consent to give him, and he was now subsisting in a miserable and precarious manner, till he might find the means of removal elsewhere.

I paid my respects to the family of my host Demetrius the morning after my arrival. His house, next to that of Logotheti of Livadia, is the best I have seen in Greece, inhabited by a private individual: the apartments large, and the decorations executed with more taste than is usual in this country. His family was an excellent example of the style and habits of life among the Greeks of the higher class. The dress of his wife and daughters was distinguished by extreme richness, and a profusion of those artificial ornaments which appertain to the toilette of a Grecian female. Two of the daughters are already married, but the husband of one of them had been absent many years in Wallachia, and the other son-in-law was about to set out for the north of Turkey, on a commercial speculation. The policy of Ali Pasha to prevent emigration, besides rendering it very difficult for any one to obtain the license of quitting his dominions, provides a further check, by invariably retaining the wives and families of those who are permitted for a time to quit the country.

Mouctar Pasha, the eldest son of the Vizier, whom I had not yet seen, was at this time in Ioannina. He sent his physician Koletti to say that he wished to know me, and appointed an hour for my coming to his Seraglio. At the time I arrived there with the physician, he was in his Haram, and we remained some time in an outer apartment witnessing the violent gesticulations of two Dervishes, who were quarrelling, as I was told, about their respective powers, and the influence of their prayers with heaven. The scene was a ridiculous, yet disgusting one. The quarrel, fomented by some of the attendants

of the Seraglio, proceeded almost to blows. There was something which approached to idiotcy in the gestures and menaces of the two Dervishes, who shouted loudly, threw open their long robes, and shewed much wildness in their whole demeanour.

I was already wearied of this spectacle, when summoned to the apartment of Mouctar Pasha. It was a room which, though not so large as many in the Seraglio of the Vizier, yet was furnished with greater taste and correctness of decoration. Mouctar received me in a friendly manner, though not with the same grace which characterizes his brother Veli Pasha. He began the conversation by paying me some compliments on my medical attentions to his father, of which he said he had been informed while at Berat. He then inquired respecting my journies in Greece, and particularly in Albania. Speaking to him of Suli, he gave me some curious information as to the part he himself bore in this warfare, from the exposure and fatigues of which, he said that his health had sustained a permanent injury. He spoke also of the battle with the French near Prevesa, and of the campaigns against the Russians on the Danube, in which he had been present. An allusion I made to some decorations on the ceiling of the apartment, representing the sun and planets, introduced the subject of astronomy, on which he asked several questions, shewing more curiosity than knowledge. This is a topic to which the Turks in general are a good deal attached, connecting it for the most part with some vague notions of astrology, which are satisfactory to their ignorance of better science. These questions were followed by others on medical subjects; partly respecting his own state of health, in part of a more general nature. I was amused by some which he asked as to the seat of life, and by the arguments he made use of to vindicate his own idea, that animal life resided solely in the blood. His conversation on this point was not without some degree of ingenuity.

While we were yet talking, one of the Dervishes came in from the outer apartment; seated himself, without being invited, on a couch near the fire; took off the cap so as to expose his bald head, and after

many ridiculous gestures, told the Pasha of the quarrel he had had with the other Dervish. Mouctar laughed vociferously at the narrative; but returning to his conversation with me, the man soon afterwards, without any token of obeisance, retired again from the apartment.

Mouctar Pasha is now somewhat more than forty, unlike his father or brother in features, and with a countenance less impressive than that of either. There is a general expression of grossness about it, not unmixed with good humour; in his manners an entire want of refinement, but without harshness. In person he is large, masculine, and strong. He is less a politician than Veli Pasha, nor has he succeeded in attaining the same rank; but he is esteemed a more intrepid warrior, and possibly may be more popular among the Albanians, who form the chief support to the power of the family. His principal amusements are those of the chace, in pursuing which he is generally attended by a superb retinue of men and horses. I have seen him also display great activity in the Turkish equestrian game of the *Djeridi*, which I had the opportunity of witnessing on a large scale during my last residence at Ioannina.*

From the Seraglio of Mouctar Pasha, I was summoned by a black slave, to that of the Vizier, whom I found not occupied in listening to Dervishes, but intently engaged on the affairs of his government; three secretaries sitting on the ground before him, who were reading aloud different papers of accounts, and receiving his instructions upon them. On my arrival, he suspended his business for a short time to talk with me about my journey, but soon afterwards took it up

* The spectacle of the Djeridi is an interesting one. A number of cavaliers, on their fleetest horses, meet in rapid conflict on a plain, hurl at each other their long javelins, made of the wood of the willow tree; swiftly recede again, or turn aside to avoid the blow of the lance; and with every variety of singular and dexterous motion, display all that seems possible in horsemanship. I have seen an assemblage of forty or fifty horsemen occupied on the same spot in this game, in which the distinction of ranks appears in great measure to be laid aside.

again, begging me to remain till it was finished. To this I willingly acceded, as at no time were the strong character and judgment of Ali Pasha seen to such advantage, as when thus occupied. For a few minutes this evening his passion was a good deal excited by the detection of some irregularity in the accounts laid before him. Something like an answer was attempted by one of the Greek secretaries, but he was repulsed by a look which he could not oppose, and the words τυτο οριζω, "*this I command*," imperatively pronounced, put a stop to all discussion.

I remained with the Vizier more than an hour this evening. Psalida was present, and served as the interpreter of all that I did not now understand in the Romaic language. The Vizier inquired very minutely about my journey, what object had most interested me? how I had been treated? whether I had found minerals of any value? what ruins I had examined? &c. I told him of the rumour of concealed treasures at Palaia-Venetia, and ridiculed this belief. He said he had heard the same accounts, and gave no credit to them; but in saying this, he looked at me with a sort of credulous earnestness, as if he were half suspicious that I might have found something on the spot. I mentioned to him the possibility of securing the upper fortress of Suli against the lightning, which had twice struck it, by the use of iron conductors. I found that this fact was not new to him, but he has probably reasoned well in considering Suli as sufficiently guarded, in what has already been done there. The remainder of our conversation was of a more general nature, regarding the extent and population of different countries, and the state of European politics; subjects to which he always shewed himself much attached.

The Vizier shewed the same desire as heretofore to detain me some time longer in Albania, and, partly perhaps with this view, proposed to me a journey through that part of his territory to the north of Ioannina. To this plan I not unwillingly acceded, finding myself already thus far advanced from the coast, and being aware, from report, of various objects which were likely to interest me in this part of the country. My inclinations were further determined by the

comfort, as well as advantage, of travelling under the direct protection of Ali Pasha, a circumstance of which I was now sufficiently aware by the comparison of my different journies in Greece. The Vizier, as at Prevesa, shewed himself interested in the details of my plan; and at a succeeding visit I made to the Seraglio, pointed out on paper, though not with great exactness, the relative situation of Argyro-Kastro, Gardiki, Tepeleni, and other places I was to visit; and noticed the position of several ruined cities, particularly of one at Gradista, to the north of Tepeleni, which had not before been examined. I was amused by the description he gave me at this time of the character of different tribes of his Albanian subjects. A principal criterion of merit, of course, was their bravery and attachment to his service; but he shewed beyond this an acute observation in various points of character, which are not so easily obvious in their effects.

CHAP. XXIII.

DEPARTURE FROM IOANNINA FOR THE NORTH OF ALBANIA. — ZITZA. — FALLS OF GLISSANI. — MONASTERY OF SOSINO. — LAKE OF ZEROVINA. — DELVINAKI. — GREAT VALLEY OF THE DEROPULI. — LIBOCHOVO. — ARGYRO-KASTRO. — GARDIKI. — MASSACRE OF THE GARDIKIOTES. — ROUTE TO TEPELENI. — RIVER VIOSA. — TEPELENI. — YUSUF AGA. — DINNER FROM THE HARAM.

I SET out from Ioannina on the 12th of March, on my journey towards the north of Albania. Four guards were appointed to attend me on this expedition; two of them Mussulmans, the other two Christians, — a difference which is of comparatively small moment in Albania, where the natives at large are by no means rigid in the tenets of their religion. One of the Christian Albanians with me was a fine young man of the name of Constantine, who having lately married in his native village near Argyro-Kastro, was in high spirits at the opportunity this journey afforded him of visiting his bride.

The *buyrouldi*, or passport, which the Vizier gave me for the journey, was couched in much stronger terms than that I had formerly carried into Thessaly. Expressed in the words of command from himself, it began by calling me his ακριβος κ' αγαπητος φιλος; directed that I should every-where be received as if he were present in person; that I should be supplied with horses wherever I required them; and that every house should be open to me. It concluded by the singular threat, "if you do not all this, the snake will eat you;" a denunciation well understood by all who live within the dominion of Ali Pasha.

My first day's journey was only to Zitza, a village twelve miles north-north-west from Ioannina. In leaving the city, I stopped a short time at the gardens of the pavilion, to pay my respects to the Vizier, who was spending the day at this place. The only remark-

able object on the route to Zitza is the lake of Lapshista, a shallow piece of water, which derives a fine character, however, from the precipitous front of Metzoukel, forming its eastern boundary. A stream flows into this lake from that of Ioannina, but after making its exit again on the western side, almost immediately disappears in a chasm among the limestone rocks. It comes out again at some distance to join the river Kalama.

The village of Zitza stands on the edge of a steep declivity, overlooking the deep valley of this river, which is seen here at the distance of nearly 30 miles above the place where I had crossed it on my way to Sullopia. The views from Zitza along this valley, and its great mountain boundaries, have a wild and irregular magnificence, which forms in some degree a peculiar feature of the spot. Lord Byron, who visited the place, has celebrated its scenery in the stanzas of his Childe Harold; and it unquestionably merits this applause, though inferior to many other points of landscape that I have seen elsewhere in Albania. The village contains only about 120 houses, and a Greek monastery. My passport obtained a lodging for me in the house of the Codja Bashee of the place, who was extremely anxious that I should report his good services to the Vizier.

From Zitza my course lay along the valley of the Kalama, which from this point extends about fifteen miles, in a direction nearly north and south. In quitting Zitza to descend into the valley, I had a splendid view, towards the north-east, of the mountains of Zagora formerly described, the elevated but flattened summits of which, now deeply covered with snow, strongly reminded me of some of the great mountains called Jokulls, in Iceland. The first remarkable object in the valley of the Kalama was the great fall of Glissani, four miles from Zitza, where the river is precipitated over a face of rock 60 or 70 feet in height. This fall is singular from the circumstance that the Kalama, which may here be about as large as the Clyde at Corra-Linn, flows in a placid stream to the very edge of the precipice, down which it falls in a perfect unbroken sheet of water. The scenery around the cascade is not striking, the river flowing here

through the subordinate ridges of hill, which traverse the great valley in different directions. These hills are all composed of *debris* from the surrounding chains of mountains, and of comparatively recent formation. At a short distance above the fall of Glissani, are several smaller cascades, formed by different streams into which the river divides itself in passing through thickets of willows and other shrubs.

I am not aware that the valley of the Kalama has been examined between this spot and the place where I crossed it near Paramithia. Much noble mountain scenery would doubtless be found in this interval, as I judge from the distant views I obtained of the country.

Crossing to the western bank of the river, I continued my route up the valley to the Monastery of Sosino, six miles above Glissani. This monastery stands on the summit of an insulated conical hill, which rises probably more than 500 feet above the valley beneath. Learning that there were some ruins here, I determined to ascend the hill, sending forward two of my guards with the baggage horses. A winding path conducted us to the summit, where, after some hesitation from their alarm, I was kindly received by four or five old monks, the sole inhabitants of the place. I examined the church and interior of the monastery, but found nothing of importance. An inscription near the window of the altar might possibly have explained the date of the building, but time had rendered it illegible. Without the walls of the monastery, and appearing to have included the summit of the hill, I found the remains of Cyclopian walls, which were doubtless those of a fortress, as the space is not sufficient for any more considerable extent of building. I could discover no inscription, nor did the monks know that any other vestige of antiquity existed on the spot. The view from the monastery shewed me the upper part of the valley of Kalama, spreading out into a wide plain, fertile, populous, and well cultivated. This plain stretches eastwards to the skirts of the mountains of Zagora. To the north, it gradually rises in successive ranges of hill, which are terminated by the great mountain of Nemertzka, covering a wide extent of surface, and forming one of the most elevated summits in this part of Albania.

Having partaken in a repast of rice, honey, and eggs, which the inhabitants of this solitary spot provided for me, I descended from the monastery of Sosino. A mile or two beyond this place, I again left the road, to examine some powder mills, the only manufactory of the kind, I believe, in Albania. The nitre and sulphur are brought here by land carriage, the charcoal prepared on the spot. The machinery of the mills is very indifferently constructed, and the powder manufactured, of extremely coarse kind.

The Kalama is chiefly formed from two streams, one descending from the side of Zagora, the other coming from the Lake of Zerovina. I followed the course of the latter, ascending its valley, which passes off in a north-west direction from that we had just been traversing. On the ascent of the hills, where the valley turns off in this direction, stands the town of Mosiari, pleasantly situated and surrounded by wood. Close to the town is a small Seraglio, which forms, occasionally, a resting place to the Vizier in his northern journies. At some distance beyond this place, we arrived at the Lake of Zerovina, a nearly circular pool of water, apparently not more than four miles in circumference, but deriving a romantic character from the mountains which surround it, or appear in the distant landscape. The village of Zerovina is situated on an eminence at its lower extremity. This lake is of very great depth; and vulgar report says, as is frequent in such cases, that there is no bottom. M. Pouquèville stated to me his belief, from the form and depth of the lake, that it must have been anciently a volcanic crater; but I see no sufficient reason for supposing this, as the surrounding hills are all either calcareous, or consisting of loose decomposed materials. The chief circumstance countenancing the opinion is, that a small quantity of sulphur has been found in one of the glens, descending to the south side of the lake. With some difficulty I made my way to this spot, which was discovered, it is said, by a flame or smoke seen by some shepherds to issue from the ground. The observation of small portions of sulphur on the surface, led to an order from the Vizier that excavations should be made here. The result, however, was fruitless. The sul-

phur was only found, encrusting some stones superficially, and on going deeper, nothing was discovered to reward the search. At the time I visited the place, the sulphureous vapours had entirely disappeared, and I found little more than stones decomposed by these vapours, and others covered with a thin film of sulphur. I shall have occasion hereafter to notice more considerable appearances of the same kind.

From the lake of Zerovina, I continued my route some miles further, between high chains of hills; and then turning to the right, up a narrow and precipitous valley, arrived at the town of Delvinaki, consisting of three or four groupes of houses, singularly situated in a deep recess, where several narrow glens meet together. The town contains nearly 3000 people. The houses, in general, appear neat and comfortable; and this, although the place has latterly been subject to more than ordinary oppression from the Vizier, who, if the account I received be correct, demands annually 140,000 piastres, or about 7000*l.* from the inhabitants. These being for the most part farmers or peasants, are unable to pay more than a part of this nominal sum; but to increase the burden upon them in another way, a larger proportion than usual of Albanian soldiers are introduced into the town, and quartered upon the people. A respectable Greek inhabitant, whom I saw here, assured me that this alone imposed upon the place an annual tax to the amount of 80,000 piastres. The severity of the Vizier towards Delvinaki, has its origin, as far as I can learn, in his wish to obtain the proprietorship of the town, which has hitherto been refused by the inhabitants, partly perhaps from the inadequacy of the sum offered for its purchase. While on the one hand this bears the marks of unwarranted oppression, on the other it shews a somewhat more regulated despotism than might be expected from other acts of the man.

Delvinaki has been considered, by some writers, as the ancient Omphalium, one of the cities of Chaonia; but I could not observe any remains of antiquity upon the spot; and though the surmise is a possible one, I am not aware of any circumstances which are

sufficient to attest it. There is reason to believe, from the description of Livy, that the place called the *Castra Pyrrhi* was in this vicinity, where Philip, King of Macedon, defeated by T. Q. Flaminius on the banks of the Aous or Viosa, halted the first night of his march towards Mount Lingon. The boundary of the modern Albania, as defined by population and language, is considered to pass through the vicinity of Delvinaki, extending afterwards to the south, to include the district of Suli. The women of this town and the adjacent country are celebrated for their beauty, a circumstance which struck me in the peasants I met on the road, before hearing the remark from others. Their dress is simple: the red Albanian cap on the head, generally decorated with coins; their hair flowing loosely from beneath; a woollen vest variously coloured; and a petticoat reaching little below the knees, with stockings curiously worked in thread of different colours.

My route from Delvinaki was to the city of Argyro-Kastro; from this place a journey of seven or eight hours; and distant from Ioannina about fifty miles. We descended again to the direct road, which we had quitted in coming to the town, along a deep chasm, through which a stream runs to join another coming from Nemertzka; the two united, flowing a few miles below, into the river of Argyro-Kastro. Five miles from Delvinaki we came to the Khan of Xerovaltos, so named from an extensive tract of marshy land adjoining, which has lately been drained by the orders of the Vizier, and brought into a state of rich and profitable cultivation. This was the first specimen of agricultural improvement, on a large scale, I had seen in Albania. From the basin-like form of the marsh, and the height of the surrounding hills, it may be conjectured, perhaps, that it was formerly a lake; the waters of which were carried off through some newly-formed channel.

Ascending a low ridge beyond this place, we came at once in sight of the great plains or vale of Deropuli, stretched out beneath us, and forming a landscape of the most magnificent kind. Of this vale I had a distant view the evening before in approaching Del-

vinaki; but the Pass of Xerovaltos forms the principal access to it from the south. It gradually extended itself before us, as we continued our route to the village of Palaia-Episcopi, situate on the declivity of the mountains which form its eastern boundary, at the distance of a mile from the opening of the Pass. At this place I stopped some time to examine an old Greek church, deriving a very picturesque character from the wood surrounding it. An inscription I found on the wall, purported, if I rightly recollect, that the church was founded by Manuel Comnenus. A poor Greek priest, whom I found on the spot, told me that it had been built many thousand years ago. I reminded him of the date of the Christian religion, to which of course he had nothing to say in reply.

The view from this point, of the vale of Deropuli, is amongst the finest I have seen in Greece. In the whole landscape there is an openness and magnificence, and a simplicity at the same time in its features, which is in some measure characteristic of Grecian scenery. The vale has an uninterrupted rectilinear extent of nearly thirty miles, from south-south-east to north-north-west, with a breadth varying from three to six miles. For the whole of this length its boundaries are formed by two vast mountain-ridges, parallel and singularly uniform in their outline; and, in many places, as I should conceive, not less than 4000 feet in height. The effect of elevation, however, is greatly increased by the abruptness of their declivity, and by the perfect and unbroken level of the valley, even to the very base of the hills. In the eastern ridge particularly, the higher part of the mountain is almost perpendicular to a great depth, with a steep and uninterrupted descent afterwards to the level of the plain. Of the chain forming the western barrier, the highest points are to the south, where they are extremely lofty and rugged, and connect themselves with the mountains which follow the course of the Kalama. Carrying the eye northwards along this chain, two passes are seen through it; one of which forms the road to Delvino, Butrinto, and other places near the coast of Albania. Still further to the north, the same mountains assume a very singular outline, exhibiting a

continuous declivity of almost bare rock, from their summit very nearly to the level of the vale; this declivity intersected by many deep gullies; and the intervening ridges terminating by bluff faces. The appearance is similar, on a larger scale, to that of the ridge on the corresponding side of the vale of Paramithia; while the chain of mountains on the opposite side greatly resembles that between Paramithia and Aia-Glyky. Whether this coincidence, which extends also the direction of the two vales, and the mineralogical character of the hills, be owing to one and the same physical agency, I will not pretend to determine, but it seems very probable.

The whole country between Ioannina and Argyro-Kastro is calcareous, and containing a great quantity of flint, generally in the form of layers. In many places the limestone is remarkably slaty in structure; and there is the appearance of much silex in its composition. The stratification of the rock is very distinct in the abrupt terminations of the western ridge, which bounds the vale just described.

The common name of this vale-district is Deropuli; and the same name is given to the river flowing through it, which sometimes, also, is called the river of Argyro-Kastro, from the situation of this city near its banks*. Its ancient name, until it joins the Viosa near Tepeleni, is not well ascertained. It has been called the Celydnus; but there is more reason to suppose that this river had its course through the country, further to the west and north.

The vale of Deropuli, or Argyro-Kastro, is luxuriantly fertile in every part of its extent; and the industry of a numerous population has been exerted in bringing it to a high state of culture. The tillage here, generally speaking, is remarkable for its neatness. The products are chiefly corn, maize, tobacco, and rice. The quantity of grain produced is very large, and much of it is carried down to the coast for export. The tobacco of this district is in great repute,

* The Greeks call a particular place on the western side of the vale by the name of Drinopolis.

and generally esteemed the best in Albania. Besides the produce of the plains, the large flocks of sheep, which feed upon the declivity of the mountains, form an important article of property, and afford much wool for the coarse manufactures of the country.

This great vale is perhaps the most populous district in Albania. The inhabitants are collected into numerous towns and villages, which are situated on the lower declivity of the mountains on each side; or on the western side generally at the opening of the deep glens which descend to the plain. I counted, and obtained the names of nearly thirty of these towns or villages; the most considerable of which, after Argyro-Kastro, is that of Libochovo, containing about 1,500 houses; several others contain as many as 500 or 600. Including Argyro-Kastro, it would probably not be too much to estimate the population of this vale-district at nearly 100,000 souls. The situation of many of the towns is very fine; especially on the eastern side, where the declivity of the hills is covered with wood, and richly cultivated. The Albanians, inhabiting these hills, are generally known among their countrymen, by the name of Liutzides, as one of their distinctions of tribe. The proprietors of the land in the vale reside chiefly in the larger of the towns bordering upon it. The tenure, on which the land is let, is one very common in this country; the tenant paying to the landlord half the produce of the ground, or its equivalent in value.

My route lay northwards along the vale to Argyro-Kastro; and on the western side of the river. A striking feature on the opposite side is a great break in the mountains, (the only one in an extent of 20 miles;) through which a large stream flows to join the Deropuli. Through this break, which is bounded on each side by immense cliffs, formed by the section of the ridge, is seen the western front of the great mountains of Nemertzka, presenting at this time to the eye an unbroken surface of snow. The town of Libochovo stands on the ascent of the mountains, at the entrance of this break. It covers a great extent of surface; and, like Paramithia, with so much difference of level, that the upper parts of the town are probably

500 feet above the lower. The houses, which are many of them large, are surrounded in general by orange, olive, or pomegranate-trees, so as to give to the place a very pleasing aspect. There is a large Seraglio here, inhabited by the only surviving sister of Ali Pasha. It is in a fine position, and environed by lofty walls.

Opposite Libochovo, and a little to the right of the road along the western side of the valley, I found the ruins of a small theatre; probably a Roman edifice, being built in great part of Roman brick, and with cement. The measurement I made of its dimensions was lost with my other papers; but the building in its best state, must have been small, and without any great beauty. I sought for inscriptions, or something which might explain its name or history, but could discover nothing. That it was a theatre is perfectly distinct from the ruins; though the situation, on the dead level of a plain, is not an usual one for such edifices, and there are no remains, as far as I know, of any ancient town in the vicinity. I was surprized to find that no one at Ioannina seemed to be aware of the existence of this ruin.

I arrived at Argyro-Kastro in the afternoon. This city, one of the largest and most important in Albania, is very singularly placed on the declivity of the mountains, on the western side of the valley, at a place where several deep ravines approach each other. The town consists of several distinct portions; groupes of houses standing on separate eminences, or covering the summits of the narrow ridges which divide the ravines. The number of habitations altogether, is estimated at 4000; which gives a population of about 20,000 souls. Almost the whole of this population is Turkish, or of Albanians, professing the Mahometan religion; and it is said that there are not more than 140 Greek families in the city.

The situation of Argyro-Kastro, on a surface so extremely unequal, gives an air of magnificence to the place, which effect is increased by the size of some of the principal Turkish houses of the city. Upon the central ridge of the three, on which the greater part of the town is situated, stands the new castle; which, when completed, will be

a building of great extent, and very strong in reference to Turkish warfare. When Ali Pasha obtained possession of Argyro-Kastro, in the early part of 1812, he commenced this work, on the site of the old castle; and has carried it on since that period, with extreme rapidity; nearly 2000 labourers being constantly occupied on the spot. This is a favourite object with him, and before I quitted Ioannina, he repeatedly desired me to pay attention to it, and to suggest any thing which I thought might improve the work. Within the castle, he is erecting also a new Seraglio on a large scale; and it is probable that hereafter, he will every year spend some time at this place.

The conquest of Argyro-Kastro, and its annexed territory, I formerly mentioned, as of much importance to the interests of Ali Pasha. His war with Ibrahim Pasha delayed this event till the winter of 1811-12; when, without much blood-shed, he obtained possession both of this district, and of the Pashalik of Delvino to the west; thereby rendering his dominions more compact; obtaining a considerable extent of sea coast; several large and populous towns; and a great increase of revenue. Previously to his attack upon Argyro-Kastro, he had contrived, under various pretences, to inveigle away the bravest and most warlike of the inhabitants, in consequence of which, the city surrendered after a short and inefficient contest. The Bey of the place was taken as a prisoner to Ioannina, where, I was told, that he still remained in captivity, as well as his neighbour Mustapha Pasha of Delvino. Not only the political power, but all the property of the city was surrendered to Ali Pasha, on which account, the immediate taxes levied upon the place, are by no means so great as upon many other cities in his dominions. The acquisition of this territory has naturally afforded him much gratification, and he repeatedly spoke to me of it in a manner which strikingly evinced this. His youngest and favourite son, Sali Bey, has been sent to reside in Argyro-Kastro; nominally as the governor, though not more than eleven years of age. This has probably been done with the view of accustoming him to the usages of the Alba-

nians, whom he may hereafter command, and also to preserve him from the greater effeminacy of an Ioannina life.

On my arrival at Argyro-Kastro, I went directly to the castle, and waited upon Hassan Aga the commandant, and Albanese governor of Sali Bey. He is a native of Tepeleni; an elderly man, but of masculine and striking appearance. In his apartment I found four or five of the principal Turks of the city, habited with great richness; one of whom seemed to be a person placed here to attend and direct the education of Sali Bey. The approaches to the apartment were crowded with Albanese soldiers. I had particular letters from the Vizier to Hassan Aga, who received me with much attention; appointed me a lodging with one of the first Greek families of the place, and in the course of the evening sent me by his attendants, a present of two sheep, two loaves of sugar, and a large bag of coffee.

From his apartment I went to visit Sali Bey, who had expressed a desire to see me. I found him in a room neither large nor splendid; a part, perhaps, of the policy of his education. He was surrounded by a groupe of Albanians, remarkable from their size and rugged masculine aspect, most of them standing bare-footed before their young master, but otherwise richly dressed and armed. The youth had risen before I entered the apartment, to receive me standing. Having exchanged salutations, we sat down, and he received the reverences of my guards, who, advancing in succession from the other end of the room, bowed themselves twice forwards before they reached his couch, touching the ground each time with their hands; then, when they came up to him, put one knee to the floor, and kissing his robe, raised his hand and touched their foreheads with it. It was amusing to see the air of juvenile majesty, with which the young Bey received their obeisances; as if long accustomed to command. He was habited in a purple pelisse; on his head the red Albanese cap; in his belt a dagger and pistols, adapted to his size, and richly ornamented. His countenance was animated and intelligent, somewhat resembling

that of his father, particularly in the forehead. His manner too, was much more formed than is usual at this age; an air of manliness and independence about it, without any childish intrusiveness. He asked, soon after I came in, several pertinent questions respecting England; its distance from Albania, and my travels in the latter country. He then allowed the conversation to be taken up by his Turkish governor, continuing to listen attentively to all that was said. This Turk, who was a man of some intelligence, renewed the subject of England, and asked various questions respecting the number and population of our cities; the size of London, &c.; generally following my answers by some comparison with similar objects in Turkey; more fairly made, however, than is usual with the people of this country. During the conversation, coffee and pipes were brought to us by the attendants,—excepting only Sali Bey, who had not yet taken up the luxury of the Turkish pipe.

The education of this young boy, if he lives to have command in Albania, is probably well adapted to his future life. At Argyro-Kastro, besides hardening himself by manly exercises, he is acquiring knowledge of the Romaic, Turkish, and Albanian, the three languages spoken by his father's subjects. His mother resides in the Seraglio at Tepeleni, twenty miles from Argyro-Kastro. I was informed that she was rarely allowed to receive visits from her son, from the fear that she might weaken him by ill-timed indulgences. The destination which the Vizier gives to Sali Bey in the future government of Albania, I have no means of knowing; and the future fortune of the latter will probably depend in great measure on the length of his father's life, and on the situation of Mouctar and Veli Pasha at the time of Ali's decease.

From the castle I descended to the lodging appointed for me, along streets so steep, that it was necessary to dismount from horseback to proceed with safety. This is the case throughout a great part of the city, so singular is its situation among ridges and acclivities. My Greek host and his family received me with a multitude of attentions; and in the course of the evening several other Greeks of the city came

in to visit me. These people have a courteous and agreeable manner towards strangers, which I have scarcely seen equalled elsewhere. A quickness of comprehension belongs to the Greek, which enables him speedily to see, and adapt himself to varieties of character,—a feature which is doubtless in part, though not wholly, derived from their long and severe political subjection. It is by his quickness and facility in these points that he is able to meet and counteract his Turkish oppressors, and to acquire an influence over them, which even affects many of the public concerns of the Turkish empire.

My host spoke much to me of the improvement in the situation of the Greeks of Argyro-Kastro, since the possession of the place by Ali Pasha, owing to the suppression of the inordinate power of the Turks in the city. This might possibly be very true,—but there was some reason to believe the statement an interested one, as it was accompanied with solicitation from my host that I would speak in his favour to the Vizier.

I visited with some attention the different parts of the new works at the castle. The hill on which these stand approaches at the summit to a very narrow ridge, so as to render the included area of the castle very long and narrow. The walls of the new edifice were now completed in the greater part of their extent, though scarcely nine months had elapsed since the buildings were begun. They are of great thickness, but like most of the undertakings of the Vizier of similar kind, have been executed too rapidly, as appears in various parts of the work. His temper is one that does not endure long delay, and the bidding and execution are required to go nearly together. Though the position of the castle is on high and steep ground, it appears to be commanded by some of the neighbouring heights, on which parts of the town are situated. I mentioned this to Ali Pasha on my return to Ioannina, but it was not easy to make him understand all the effects of European artillery in the conduct of a siege. Several of the guns which I saw lying within the castle, ready to be mounted, were of English manufacture.

Of the new Seraglio which the Vizier is building here the Haram

H. Holland. del. R. Sands, sculp.

Castle of Argyro-Kastro.

London. Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Jan. 1, 1815.

is the only part in an advanced state, but this too has been executed with a very unreasonable rapidity, — even the painting of some of the apartments being already completed. It is in the usual style of Turkish palaces, and might have been handsome, but for the trifling gaudiness of the interior decorations, which are utterly inconsistent with good taste, and in general executed in a careless manner.

On the 15th, after making another visit to the Commandant, Hassan Aga, I continued my journey. The direct route from Argyro-Kastro to Tepeleni would have been down the valley of the Deropuli, which a few miles to the north of the former city loses its character of a broad and luxuriant plain, and is suddenly contracted by the approach of the mountains towards each other. By the direction of the Vizier, however, I took a circuitous route to Gardiki, the unfortunate city which he destroyed in the spring of 1812, and which I should scarcely have thought of visiting, had he not himself admitted this as a point in my journey. When giving the reader a sketch of the life of Ali Pasha, I briefly alluded to this melancholy event, and to the cause which produced it at so very distant a period of time *. As it forms, however, the latest circumstance in the history of Ali, and one that strongly illustrates his character, I shall give the narrative more in detail, as I received it from persons who were eye-witnesses to many parts of the event.

Gardiki was a large city, about ten miles to the west or north-west of Argyro-Kastro, with a population of Turks and Albanians, who had much property in the surrounding country, and were extremely independent and warlike in their habits. In the early part of Ali Pasha's life, when relying chiefly on the zeal and resolution of his mother, the Gardikiotes became his enemies, and endeavoured to dispossess him of his small territory. On a certain occasion, when with his mother and sister he was passing the night at some village in this part of the country, they laid a plot for surprizing him and taking away his life. Ali, with difficulty, escaped, but his mother and sister

* See page 104.

were made prisoners, and conducted to Gardiki; where, after being exposed for thirty days to various outrages, particularly offensive to the usage of the Turks with respect to women, they were ignominiously sent away. This event never left the recollection of the family. His mother, it is said, did not cease, as long as she lived, to urge him to accomplish some work of revenge; and the influence she had over his mind was aided by his own temper, and by the opposition the Gardikiotes continued to offer to his growing power.

The situation, however, of Gardiki, and the protection afforded it by the Pashas of Berat and Delvino, made it impracticable for Ali to execute his designs till the beginning of 1812, when the subjugation of Argyro-Kastro, Delvino, &c. enabled him to surround Gardiki with his troops, and thus to prevent the escape of the inhabitants. It is not impossible that he might have taken the place before, but in this case many of them would have escaped, and he would thus have been foiled in his full work of vengeance. Previously to his attack, he had contrived, by delusive means, to retain almost all the Gardikiotes within the city, with the expectation that they should not suffer more than the other conquered territory. His troops, to the number, it is said, of about 15,000, having surrounded the place, orders were given to attack it. The Turkish officers of his army, — either in consequence of the vigorous defence of the people, or because they were unwilling to take a city, in the safety of which the Porte had directly interested itself, and where the inhabitants, though Mussulmans, were likely to be eventually sacrificed, — delayed their operations, and made little progress in the siege. The Vizier, it appears, had begun to be irritated by this tardiness, when Athanasius Bia came forward, and offered with a certain number of Albanians, to take the place by storm; though its position on the acclivity of a conical hill, rendered this an enterprize of much difficulty. His offer was accepted, and a single night put Gardiki into the Vizier's hands; after an interval of more than 40 years from the commission of the original offence.

The inhabitants, who might be 5000 or 6000 in number, were at first distributed into different places in the vicinity, with the exception

of 36 of the Beys and principal people who were sent to Ioannina. On the morning of the 15th of March, exactly one year before the day when I visited the remains of Gardiki, nearly 800 of the Gardikiotes were brought into the area of a large Khan, a few miles to the north-east of Argyro-Kastro. The Vizier himself came in his carriage to the gate of the Khan, which was every-where surrounded by his troops. The names of a certain number of the Gardikiotes were called out, who were allowed to depart from the area, and transported with the remainder of their countrymen, into a sort of slavery in other parts of Albania. Those left within the Khan, who are said to have been about 730 in number, were tied together with cords, to prevent the efforts that might be suggested by despair. They were all men, and selected, as it appears, either as having actually been in Gardiki at the time when the mother and sister of Ali were imprisoned there, or as the direct descendants of those who bore part in the outrage. Orders were given to the soldiers who surrounded them, standing on the high walls of the Khan, that when a signal was made by the report of a fusil, they should fire upon the prisoners in the area. This fusil is said to have been discharged by the Vizier himself, as he sat in his carriage. The work of slaughter instantly began, and was continued without intermission, either by the musket or sabre, till not a single one of the Gardikiotes remained alive. The fate of some was delayed a short time by their escape into certain wooden buildings within the area. The Vizier, however, who remained himself on the spot, till the whole was completed, ordered fire to be put round these buildings, which drove the unhappy victims from their place of concealment. Some of them becoming desperate, took up stones, with which they wounded several of the soldiers employed in their destruction. At length, they all lay on the ground; every opening to the area was closed up; and the bodies were left without burial, to attest yet more strongly the vengeance which led to the act.

On the same day, the 36 Gardikiotes, who had been carried to Ioannina, and treated there with a delusive kindness, were trans-

ported to the other side of the lake, and shared the same fate as the rest. Even here the work was not wholly completed. I was informed that one or two of the principal inhabitants of Gardiki, who had been absent at the time this city was taken, were afterwards seduced to return; were murdered, and their bodies sent to the spot where the others had perished.

In returning to Ioannina from the north, I visited the Khan, where this melancholy event occurred. One of my Albanian guards, Constantine, had been among the soldiers employed in the destruction of the Gardikiotes; a circumstance of which he spoke with much seeming unconcern. I found the area closed by high walls on every side. Over the former gate a stone tablet appeared; on which were inscribed a number of Romaic verses, commemorating the event. This inscription, placed here by the orders of the Vizier, I could not read, from its height above the ground; but I was told that it related several of the circumstances, and concluded by stating, that such should be the fate of all who injured the family of Ali Pasha. With some difficulty I got over the walls into the area; I found everywhere, scattered upon the surface, the remains of the unfortunate victims who perished on the spot, as well as other memorials of the manner in which this massacre was effected.

It would appear, that Ali Pasha, if not considering this act as a meritorious one, in reference to the memory of his mother, yet certainly is insensible to any odium attaching to it. Besides the inscription just referred to, the event is fully recorded in a poetical history of his life, to which he has given a sanction for publication. Nor is it likely he would have directed me to the places, bearing visible testimony to it, had he conceived that the action would have been of bad repute to an European judgment.

The route from Argyro-Kastro to Gardiki, carried me round the northern extremity of the great ridge, which forms the western boundary of the vale of the Deropuli. This extremity is striking from its abruptness, and from its complete conical form, when seen in front. On the declivity of these mountains, to the north of Argyro-Kastro,

is the large town of Maschuri, with several smaller places; most of which have greatly suffered, and some of them been wholly destroyed, from their connection with the Gardikiotes. A singular natural phenomenon occurs at a place called Vero, in the same vicinity; where a river, quite as large as the Avon at Bath, bursts at once from the ground, and falling over a platform of rock some feet in height, joins the Deropuli half a mile below. The small circular pool, out of which this river rises, at the foot of a limestone cliff, is of such depth, that the issue of this great body of water scarcely produces a ripple on the surface.

At the termination of the mountains, just noticed, a valley opens to the west, bringing down a small river to join that of Argyro-Kastro. Following the course of this stream for a few miles, we came in sight of Gardiki; situated on the steep acclivity of a double conical hill, with high mountains in the immediate back ground; the castle crowning one summit of the hill; on the other nearly a thousand houses, all built of stone, lofty, and deriving an air of magnificence from their situation. As I looked upon Gardiki in the distance, it appeared to me one of the finest towns I had seen in Turkey. The near approach to it, was a mournful contradiction to the distant aspect. None of the usual busy sounds of a city met the ear; but there was a desolate stillness and silence, which gave an impression I shall not easily forget. I entered the streets; all here was vacant and deserted. The doors and windows of the houses were open; but no living sound came from within. The ruins of an ancient city display the hand of time, gradually working its decline; but this shewed itself as the effect of some sudden calamity, which at once had fallen upon the place; bringing to mind the enchanted city in one of the Arabian tales, where, as a punishment, all the inhabitants had been changed into stone. It would not be easy, indeed, to find a fitter subject for melancholy, than a city still retaining the exterior of all that denotes it such; but the inhabitants of which have suddenly, and entirely disappeared.

As I walked through the silent streets, I saw a few peasants here and there employed in taking down the wooden beams of the larger houses, to transport them to the new Seraglio at Argyro-Kastro. The Vizier, it seems, has thrown a curse upon the place, and will not allow it, as long as his own power remains, to become again the habitation of man. The Gardikiotes who escaped from death, were dispersed among different towns, many of them to Prevesa, and Vonitza; and none have been permitted to resume their habitations in the depopulated city.

From Gardiki I returned down the river, to the place where it forms its junction with the Deropuli; with the view of examining a ruin on a flat peninsula at the confluence of the two streams. A square area, each side of which may be about 60 yards, is enclosed by a wall of Roman brick, of considerable thickness. The situation and form indicate some fortress, or point of defence; but nothing further remains, to illustrate the former history of the spot. Adjoining it is the village of Neochori; lately built by the command of the Vizier, in consequence of the destruction of the population, which before cultivated the lands in this district.

I slept at Stipesi, a small village near the place, where the river quits the broad valley of Argyro-Kastro, to enter the more contracted defiles, through which it flows northwards to join the Viosa, near Tepeleni. The mountains, contracting the valley, are in fact a continuation of those which previously bounded it; but here without any intervening level. They do not, however, form precipitous cliffs in their whole ascent; but rising steeply for two or three miles from the river, are terminated towards their summit, by abrupt ridges of great height. Several towns and villages appear on their declivity, the largest of which is Lekli; the native place of Athanasius, and Lucas Bia. The former has a large house, and much property in this district.

As a landscape, the approach to Tepeleni is noble. A mile or two to the south of the town is the confluence of the Deropuli and the Viosa, forming in their junction a river not less than 250 yards in

width, rapid and deep. This river retains the name of Viosa to the sea, a derivation probably from that of Aous, which was the ancient name of the stream. The branch, which is called Viosa, previously to the junction of the two rivers, descends towards Tepeleni from the south-east, approaching its point of confluence through the vast mountain-defiles of Klissoura,—a scenery full of boldness and majesty. This river rises by several streams from the Pindus chain, in the country to the north of Metzovo. Flowing in a direction north and west, it receives streams from Tzekel, Samarina, and other parts of the same chain, passes through the mountainous district called Charamoutates, and by the large town of Konitza situated near its right bank. The mountains of Charamoutates may all be considered as branches of Pindus connected with Nemertzka, and the other ridges to the west. This district is said to contain about thirty Albanian villages, the inhabitants of which were formerly Christians; but for the most part have become Mahometans during the last century. I heard an anecdote regarding one of these villages, the name of which I do not recollect; — that, after the service of the Greek church was over, on some day of festival, the people assembled round their priests, told them that they and their fathers had been praying in this form for one year after another; that they found their situation in no degree bettered by it; and that they were determined, in a body, to change their religion; insisting, moreover, that the priests themselves should follow their example.*

Lower down than Charamoutates, the Viosa passes the town of Permeti, containing about 700 houses, and flowing through the defiles of Klissoura, forms its junction with the river of Argyro-Kastro, just above Tepeleni. The latter town, the birth-place of Ali Pasha, is situated on the western or left bank of the river, on a lofty peninsular eminence, formed by the junction of the Bentza with

* I was told that in the district of Charamoutates, there are some appearances of sulphur and inflammable vapour, probably resembling those near Mosiari.

the Viosa. The great Seraglio of the Vizier, almost equal in extent to that of Ioannina, stands on the brow of a rock, impending over the waters of the latter river. A large mosque is near to it; and below are the remains of a bridge, destroyed by the violence of the winter-floods in the Viosa. This bridge has been broken down two or three times, notwithstanding many efforts of the Vizier to render it durable. It was last carried away by the floods in 1812; and no attempts have since been made to repair it. When I returned to Ioannina, Ali Pasha asked my opinion on the subject. I represented to him generally that I thought him too rapid in the execution of all such undertakings, and proposed at the same time a bridge of boats, as being on the whole best adapted to the place. He said that this had before been suggested, but that he wished to erect some more durable monument of himself at the place of his nativity. He had been told, he added, by some European engineer, that it was impossible, but still was anxious to attempt it, should there be a chance of success.

The town of Tepeleni is small and wretched; and the Seraglio, and occasional residence of the Vizier, alone give consequence to it. There is a vulgar superstition existing here, that the place is destined not to contain more than a hundred houses; and that every one erected beyond this number is destroyed by some mischance. This belief is singular in a town where double this number might easily be counted. The population is almost exclusively of Albanians; many of whom, from the partiality of Ali to his birth-place, and his confidence in their attachment, have obtained valuable offices in different parts of his dominions.

I proceeded to the Seraglio, to deliver my letters to Yusuf Aga, who commands here in the absence of the Vizier. This man, a Moor by birth, is one of the most confidential servants of Ali Pasha, and possesses an authority in this district which is only controuled by that of his master. He has obtained this influence, less perhaps from the length of his services, (though he has been with Ali from the boyhood of the latter,) than from a ferocity of temper which has made

H. Holland del. Eliz. Byrne sculp.t

Seraglio of Tepeleni.

...ndon. Published by Longman ...

him capable of any service required of him. It was this man, as I learnt on good authority, who, twenty years ago, roasted alive a person that had rendered himself odious to the Vizier, and murdered his whole family; an anecdote to which I formerly referred. But a few days before my arrival at Tepeleni, Yusuf had stabbed a man with his own hand; on what account I had not the means of learning. This sanguinary being is now not less than ninety years of age. His trust at Tepeleni is a very important one; a large portion of the treasure of the Vizier being deposited, as it is said, at this place. I found him sitting in a small and dirty apartment of the Seraglio, meanly dressed himself, but surrounded by numerous, and richly dressed Albanian guards. Seven or eight dogs and cats were running about the room; some of the dogs covered with cloth jackets. There was something strangely uncouth about the whole scene; particularly in the old man himself, who, bending as he was from age, yet inspired a sort of terror from his dark and strongly contracted face, and the occasional mixture of savageness and dissimulation in his features. He received me, however, with great attention, read the letter of the Vizier, and told me that he was ordered to give every assistance to my journey. Watching his face, while he was reading, I was at one moment a little alarmed by a sudden look he directed towards me, which was immediately followed by his whispering to an Albanian soldier who stood near him. This man left the apartment, and did not again return. There was probably nothing in this, and I might not have observed it but for the peculiar expression of the old Aga at the time.

Having sat with him half an hour, he directed his attendants to take me to an apartment in one of the great galleries which had been prepared for me. The Seraglio of Tepeleni is on the site of that which originally belonged to Veli Pasha, the father of Ali. Some of the rooms in it are of great size, and sumptuously adorned; but the chief peculiarity is its fine situation, overhanging the river Viosa, and surrounded by the mountain-ridges which form the valley of this

river and of the Bentza. The Haram, which, from its exterior, appears to be very extensive, is on the northern side of the Seraglio, every-where guarded by lofty walls, and particularly where it is open to the valley of the Bentza. Here the wife of Ali Pasha, mother of Sali Bey, has her residence, together with sixty other females, chiefly in the capacity of her attendants. This lady,—it being made known to her that I was a friend of the Vizier,—sent to compliment me on my arrival, and to express her intention of preparing a dinner for me. In consequence of this message, I was obliged to continue fasting for two or three hours, fearful of doing any thing which might seem incorrect in relation to the intended compliment. At the expiration of this time, I saw the gates opening, which conduct to the enclosure of the Haram, and several black slaves appeared, bearing a long succession of dishes towards my apartment in the gallery. The table apparatus was, as usual, simple in the extreme, consisting of little more than a tray, napkins, two or three spoons, and a single fork. About twenty dishes were successively set before me. The meats, chiefly mutton or fowl, were prepared for the most part in the form of stews: in the sweet things, honey was a principal ingredient, according to the Turkish custom. One large glass vessel upon the table was filled with milk and almonds. While at dinner a man came in, an Italian by birth, who had been with the French armies in Spain; had been taken prisoner by the English, entered into the Corsican Rangers, and deserted from Santa Maura to the coast of Albania. He now, together with another Italian of the same fortunes, superintends the gardens of the Vizier at Tepeleni, receiving in this situation a piastre a-day, besides his food and clothing.

After dinner I conveyed to the Haram, through Yusuf Aga, my acknowledgments for the honour done me. In the evening, a splendid apparel of bed-clothes was sent me from the same quarter, which, as usual, were spread on one of the sofas of the apartment. The outer covering was of purple velvet, very richly worked with gold embroidery. The sheets, which were of muslin, had long

fringes; in addition to which, flowers were here and there worked in them, with variously coloured threads, producing an effect much more agreeable to the sense of sight than to that of touch.

The Bentza, the river which joins the Viosa at Tepeleni, rises among the high mountains to the west of this place, and flows through a very profound valley, contracted by cliffs of immense height, which display a beautiful stratification of the limestone composing them. The village of Bentza has an extraordinary situation at the foot of these cliffs, two or three miles above Tepeleni. Some miles higher up the valley, and likewise in a very singular position, is the town of Nivitza, containing more than 600 houses. At this place there are considerable ruins, which, from the description, I judge to be of Cyclopian structure, and belonging to one of the ancient Chaonian cities. In the same mountainous region, there are several other villages, chiefly peopled by shepherds, the flocks being very large and numerous upon these mountains. I was informed that nearly 30,000 sheep belong to the village of Bentza alone, and a proportionate number to other places in the vicinity.

The ancient geography of this district labours under the same obscurity as other parts of the interior of Epirus. The identity of the river Viosa, with the Aous or Aias of antiquity, may be regarded indeed as certain; but the site of Antigonia, Phœnice, Hecatompedon, and other cities of this region, can by no means be equally fixed. Meletius has spoken of Argyro-Kastro as corresponding with the position of Antigonia. I am not aware of any remains on the spot to prove this; but if it is considered that the contracted part of the valley between Argyro-Kastro and Tepeleni forms the *Stena* or Pass, which is described by Livy and Polybius as near Antigonia, then it is possible that the opinion may be an accurate one*. From

* Polybius speaks of this Pass as the τῶν στενῶν Ἀντιγονείαν γενῶν. Lib. ii. 5. Livy uses the expression, "ad occupandas quæ ad Antigoniam fauces sunt: *sthena* vocant. Græci." Lib. xxxii. c. 5.

the description of Livy, in his account of the warfare of the Romans with the last Philip of Macedon, in this part of Epirus, it is certainly probable that this is the pass referred to; though it is also possible that it may be the defile of Klissura, and the mountains Æropus and Asnaus those which are actually seen, forming the boundaries of this defile. The contracted passes, however, of the two rivers, near their junction, are so entirely formed in the same range of mountains, that the question is of little importance; and the narrative Livy gives of the surprise, defeat, and flight of Philip, before the army of T. Q. Flaminius, is easily comprehended from the general topography of the spot.

I should venture, though with caution, to surmise from a passage in Polybius (lib. ii. c. 5.) that the site of Phœnice, which he describes as one of the strongest and most powerful cities of Epirus, may have been somewhere in the district adjoining Tepeleni. The modern Albanian name of the district, which includes Tepeleni, is taken from that of the tribe inhabiting it. This tribe, called the Toskides, occupy the country on both sides of the Viosa, from its junction with the river of Argyro-Kastro to its mouth, stretching northwards also, so as to include Berat, Durazzo, and the extensive plains which here border upon the Adriatic sea.

CHAP. XXIV

DEPARTURE FROM TEPELENI. — LOPESI. — LUNETZI. — CARBONARA. — RUINS AT GRADISTA. — LATIN INSCRIPTION. — LOSS OF PAPERS. — MONASTERY OF POLLINA. — RUINS OF APOLLONIA. — AVLONA. — ACROCERAUNIAN MOUNTAINS. PITCH MINES OF SCLENITZA. — ANCIENT ORACLE OF NYMPHÆUM. — RETURN TO TEPELENI. — JOURNEY TO IOANNINA.

I QUITTED Tepeleni to descend along the valley of the Viosa, with a view of examining the ruins of Apollonia, near the mouth of this river, and other places of interest in the same district. In compliance with the direction of the Vizier, Yusuf Aga appointed an Albanian officer, named Martino, to attend me on this journey, as a person who well knew the country. He joined my party well dressed, armed, and mounted, bringing with him an attendant to carry his luggage.

Crossing the Bentza, half a mile from Tepeleni, by a fine bridge of one large arch, recently erected, we took a northerly direction between the foot of the mountains and the Viosa, an interval of three or four miles, occupied by a plain, or by low secondary hills. This ridge of mountains, connected with those of the valley of the Bentza, has here the name of Argenik; the district stretching down to the river is called Lopesi, — a tract of country very populous, and containing many large villages, which, for the most part, have very picturesque situations on the declivity of the mountains. The Albanians inhabiting it are brave, warlike, and strongly attached to the person and interests of Ali Pasha. Before I left Ioannina, the Vizier spoke to me of this people, describing them as ανθρωποι αγριοι, μα παλικαροι και πιστοι, "men rude in their habits, but valorous and faithful." He passed much of his youth among them, and to their services was greatly indebted for his safety, in this turbulent period of his life.

Two miles from Tepeleni, I stopped to examine some ruins on the summit of an insulated hill, between the ridge of Argenik, and a lower ridge descending to the Viosa. I found nothing remarkable at this spot; and, from the appearance of the ruins, should conjecture that they may be the remains of one of the many fortresses, erected by Justinian, to guard the passes of Epirus.

I passed a night in one of the villages of Lopesi, a few miles to the north of Tepeleni. Being now in a district, where there were no Greek houses, and all the inhabitants Mahometans, I was obliged to have recourse to the authority of my *buyrouldi* to procure myself a lodging. My new guard, Martino, though himself a Christian, yet from being on good terms with Yusuf Aga, whose name is held in great terror in this part of the country, managed this for me with facility. I was admitted into the best house of the village, where I slept without any inconvenience, but that of waiting a few minutes at the door till the females of the family had been removed into their private apartments. My host was a man of civility and intelligence. He had known the Vizier from his youth; and, pointing at the couch on which I was then sitting, he told me that he recollected the young Ali sleeping upon it, more than forty years before, when seeking refuge here from the enemies who then oppressed him.

From the summit of a hill, behind this village, I had an interesting geographical view of the country. In front, the Viosa was seen, making a bend towards the west, and then resuming its general direction of north-north-west, in which it may be traced for many miles, at the foot of the hills, which are continued northwards from Argenik. On the opposite side of the river, to the north-east, the country, though hilly, is less elevated; till passing over numerous successive ridges, the eye rests upon the great and magnificent mass of Mount Tomarit; at the distance from this spot of more than 30 miles. This mountain, near the base of which is the town of Berat, may be regarded as one of the highest in Albania. Notwithstanding the name, it is scarcely possible to conceive of it, as the

Mount Tomarus, under which was the oracle of Dodona; the reasons for which opinion, will be found in a former part of this volume.*

I continued my route along the left bank of the Viosa, to the small town of Lunetzi, about 16 miles from Tepeleni. The river is every-where a fine object; flowing here in a broad channel, and its banks well wooded. At Lunetzi, the hills on each side approach each other, forming a narrow Pass, and the river now flows on in a deep and rapid stream; the cliffs in many places descending perpendicularly to the water; and taking those singular forms, which limestone rocks often assume. Near this place, there is a ferry, where it was my design to pass the river. The stream had been swelled, however, by late rains; and after spending half an hour in hesitation on its banks, the ferrymen declared they would not venture across. I could not regret this resolution, as there was much danger in the extreme rapidity of the current; and a heavy storm of wind and rain, which occurred at this time, would probably have further embarrassed our movements.

Under these circumstances, I decided on taking the road to Carbonara, a town five hours journey further down the river, there to seek a passage across, to the ruins at Gradista; which it was my next object to examine. A precipitous path for some miles among the limestone cliffs, which overhang the Viosa, brought us again into a plain and fertile country; forming a sort of basin among the mountains. On one of these cliffs, two miles from Lunetzi, are the ruins of an ancient fortress, placed on a pinnacle of rock, impending over the river; and so situated, that the only access is by a rude flight of stairs, cut in the rock.

The plain of Kalutzi, in which I had now arrived, expands chiefly on the north side of the river. It is rich and beautiful, and has a large population, inhabiting different towns and

* See p. 145.—On the banks of the Viosa, below this village of Lopesi, are the remains of a fortress, which is evidently Roman in its origin.

villages on the skirts of the hills. The loftiest mountain, bordering on the plain, is one called Griva; which, like most of the limestone chains and elevations of this country, terminates in the summit as a ridge. Numerous flocks of sheep feed on these hills; the produce of the plain is chiefly maize, wheat, and tobacco. The culture of the land is very neat, and I was struck by the fine appearance of the oxen employed at the plough. The oxen of Chaonia, in which region I was now travelling, had always much celebrity; and are noticed by Aristotle, Ælian, and other writers, in terms of encomium for their strength and beauty.

Beyond this plain, the valley is again contracted by the approach of ridges of hill. These, however, are much lower than the mountains, among which I had been travelling for some days past; and the whole level of the country is seen gradually declining towards the sea, and the great plains which border this part of the coast. The town of Carbonara is situated beyond this pass, on another ridge of hill which runs down to the river, thickly covered with olives and other trees; among which the houses are scattered singly in the most picturesque situations, each with a small enclosure around it. Ascending the hill into the town, I was quickly surrounded by a crowd of people assembled to gaze at a Frank stranger; a very rare sight in this place. The population of Carbonara is entirely Mahometan; and I found the principal person here to be a Dervish, who is said to have great influence in the district; and whose manners were extremely authoritative towards the people. Having delivered my *buyrouldi* to this man, a lodging was appointed for me; with the same necessity, however, of waiting till the females of the family were removed elsewhere. My hostesses, though invisible, supplied me with a very good supper, of dishes cooked according to the Turkish manner.

The following morning I devoted to an examination of the ruins at Gradista, on the eastern side of the Viosa. We crossed the river

* Arist. Hist. Animal. lib. iii. 21. Ælian. lib. xii. c. 11. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. 45.

by a ferry, called Lundra, two miles from Carbonara; to which place I was accompanied by the Dervish, and by my host of the preceding night. The passage over was attended with some difficulty. The violence of the current carried our boat far below the place where we embarked; and brought us upon a bank of sand within the stream, where we were obliged to get out the horses, and to ride for some distance through the water. A single passage to and fro of the ferry-boat occupied nearly an hour. I crossed first, accompanied by two of the guards, and my Greek servant, leaving the others to follow with the luggage, whilst I went to examine the ruins at Gradista. This separation proved a very unfortunate one; as it was on this occasion, that I sustained the loss, alluded to in the preface, of a small portmanteau, containing the greater part of the papers, journals, and maps, which I had drawn up whilst in Albania. In what manner this happened, whether by accident or otherwise, I cannot pretend to say. I was not myself aware of the loss, till, on rejoining in the evening those of my guards whom I had left behind, the package was discovered to be wanting. The account they gave me, while asserting perfect ignorance of the matter, was not entirely satisfactory; though at least affording a sort of certainty, that the portmanteau never went beyond the ferry of Lundra, but was either lost or stolen at this spot.

The ruins at Gradista are situated on a lofty hill, which approaches to the right bank of the Viosa; insulated on each side by vallies, and merely connected in one point with the high ground behind. The position shews at first sight its strength and capability of defence, according to the methods of ancient warfare. I ascended by a steep path to the summit of the hill, passing through the wretched and almost deserted village of Gradista; where with difficulty we procured information as to our route. This district of country belonged, until lately, to Ibrahim Pasha of Berat, under whose government its population was remarkable for wildness and ferocity. At that time, as I learnt, it was almost impossible to travel

here with security;—an evil which has already been remedied by the more absolute, and, in some respects, more enlightened rule of Ali Pasha. His name here, as elsewhere, has an influence which can only exist under a perfect despotism.

The summit of the hill presents a tabular surface of some extent, on which are the ruins of an ancient city, still visible in the greater part of the circumference of the walls, and in the remains of different edifices within their area. The situation of the city must have been very fine, as well as strong. The walls may be traced following the brow of the hill, on its west and north sides, with a transverse wall connecting the two extremities of this curve, and other portions extending the defences along the edge of the declivity. There is the evidence that a part of these walls has been built at two distinct periods,—a circumstance most obvious in the transverse one, where the Greek Cyclopian structure is seen below, while above this there is a comparatively recent portion, built more rudely with small stones and cement.

Near the transverse wall, and within the area of the city, I found several fragments of columns of small dimension, composed of a coarse marble, some fluted, others not so. In the same situation, I observed also an ancient wall, in great part filled up, but still shewing that excellence of workmanship which is so generally apparent in the ancient Greek structure. Farther towards the centre of the area, there are the vestiges, but more or less concealed under ground, of some public edifice, in all probability one of the temples of the city. The fragments of ten or twelve columns appear at this spot, with many other sculptured stones; and, from the nature of the ground, I think it probable that much more might still be restored by excavation.

Just without the area of the walls, on the western side, some perpendicular ledges of rock overhang the declivity, which stretches down to the valley of the Viosa. On one of these faces of rock, I found the Latin inscription of which I have given below a copy, as

accurate as I was enabled to make it *. The letters, which are large, are included within an oblong space of rock, the surface of which has been rendered plain for their inscription. It was impossible to make the copy complete, as well from the erasure of some of the letters, as from the height of the surface of rock above the ground, which made it necessary to stand on the back of a horse while transcribing the upper portion. The inscription will be seen to relate to the circumstance of the Roman military commanders in this district having repaired, and rendered carriageable, the public road from the town of Bullis to some other point in the neighbourhood, the name and situation of which is not perfectly distinct, but which appears to have been near the banks of the Viosa. It is unfortunate that the inscription affords no decisive testimony as to the town, of which the ruins remain at this spot. Bullis is mentioned by Ptolemy as a city of the Elymiotes, and is referred to by Cæsar, Cicero, and Plutarch, in its connection with the civil wars of the Romans on the frontiers of Illyricum and Epirus †. From these allusions, however, it appears rather doubtful whether this town could have been situated on the right bank of the Viosa, in the position of the ruins at Gradista. On the contrary, the site of Bullis has been generally supposed by geographers on the other side the river, and nearer to the coast and

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* M. VALERIVS. M × QUIRI × × M × X × MVS ——
× × CONS: COHORTIA. × × MEN. R × MSA ——
EQVIT. TRIB. MILIT × × CVII. GEME × LI × A —
PR × EF × × TVS. IN MESOPOTAMIA VEXILLATIONIBVS EQVI × VM. E ——MALAR × M
PR × × × ORIAE. AVGVSTA. ×. SYRIACAE AGRIPPIANAE HERC VII
S × × INSVLARIVM = ITEM COHORTIVM × × V CENS × VM × × PIAE
× × R × × × CR × × × ACVM III VIRIAE PA × × AGONVM II EQVITVM × × ——
CALONITANORVM × × V CHALCIDENORVM V PEIREORVM IIII
ENSIVM I VLPIAE. PETRAEO × VM II VLPIAE. PALIAGONVM I. VLPIAE
SAGITTARIORVM III DACORVM I ——GAM——RVM —
VIAM PVB —— QVAE. A. COL. BVLLID —
PERAST × CIAS ——ANGUSTIAM FRAGO × AM —— PIC × × OS
ITA MVNIT VT VEHICVLIS COMME × TVR ITEM ——.
MARGVA FLVMINE ET RIVIS D ——
ET. IN. SC —— SIT. D. D.

† See Cæs. Comment. Ciceron. xi. Philipp; and Plutarch in vita M. Bruti. —Stephanus calls Bullis, "πολις Ιλλυριδος παραθαλασσια."

the port of Avlona. How far this opinion may be rendered doubtful by the place and terms of the inscription just given, I will not pretend to determine. If the ruins here do not indicate the position of Bullis, they may perhaps be regarded as those of Amantia, another city spoken of by Ptolemy as in the district of Orestis, in this region. I made a diligent inquiry from the peasants of the adjacent villages, for any coins found on the spot, but without success. I should think it probable, however, that a more detailed examination of the ruins would discover something to ascertain their former name.

The view from the summit of the hill at Gradista extends to the shores of the Adriatic, and shews the course of the Viosa, no longer confined among mountains, but winding through the extensive plains which border upon the coast. On the opposite side of the valley, somewhat lower down than the ruins, is seen the village of Selenitza, celebrated for its pitch mines, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak.

Having remained some hours among the ruins, I resumed my journey, descending into the valley, which forms the north or north-east boundary of the hill. In the walls on this side, there are the vestiges of a gate, which seems to have been the principal one of the city. The declivity of the hill is covered with fragments of sculptured stone, removed from their original situation, particularly near the path which conducts into the valley below. My route was continued for about fourteen miles, still on the right side of the Viosa, and over the plains, upon which it enters a short distance below Gradista. A deep alluvial soil forms the whole extent of these plains, which are extremely rich and fertile, and support a very considerable population, distributed in numerous small villages over their surface. The cultivation is chiefly of maize and wheat, of which a large surplus is exported from the country. The same plains, intersected here and there by low ridges or eminences, extend far along the coast in the direction of Durazzo, and form a very important acquisition to the power of Ali Pasha, who obtained this territory as a part of the Pashalik of Berat.

In the evening, I arrived at the village of Fracola, where I met my luggage-horses, and the two guards whom I had left with them, and made the discovery of the loss of the package containing my papers. Conceiving at the moment that there might be some hope of regaining it, I instantly sent back the *sourudze* with a peasant of the village, to retrace the day's journey, while I proceeded myself to the Monastery of Pollina, on the site of the ancient Apollonia, with directions that they should join me there the next morning. The monastery is distant from Fracola only four or five miles. I travelled thither by moonlight, and notwithstanding my recent misfortune, could not but enjoy the singularity of the scene:—the plains spread before me as a sort of misty expanse;—the dull murmur of the sea heard from the distance;—the tall and masculine figures of my guards seen partially, and at intervals, as the light fell upon them. In our way we passed a large groupe of gipsies, whose tents were pitched near the road side, their fires kindled in the midst, and thirty or forty of these people sitting around the blazing piles.

We reached the monastery at ten o'clock; directed to it less by the appearance of any track, than by the barking of the Albanese dogs, which were stationed around, to notice to its inhabitants the arrival of strangers,—a needful precaution in a country where terror and insecurity have so long prevailed. It was with much difficulty we obtained admittance into the building, and not till my guards had threatened the monks with the vengeance of the Vizier, if they continued their refusal to open the doors. An elderly monk at length came out with a light, and conducted us into a wretched apartment, where two or three of his brethren had been sleeping around a fire. These poor men still regarded our visit with apprehension, and it was not easy to satisfy them that we had no design of plundering their property. The misery of the Christian monks, in every part of Albania, is very great. They have been peculiarly the prey of the lawless rulers, who have successively had power in this country; and their defencelessness, equally with their religion, have exposed them to every species of outrage.

After waiting some time, my hosts brought me a repast of bread, milk, and honey, and made up a rude bed in one of the rooms of the monastery. Honey, which at this time formed a principal article in my diet, is abundant in every part of Albania. The kind and quality vary much in different districts; but I found none that might compare in excellence with that of Hymettus.

The monastery of Pollina obtains its name from the city of Apollonia, placed just within the frontier of the ancient Illyricum, and once among the most considerable and important of this region. Founded originally by the Corinthians, when they were establishing colonies on this coast, it appears to have increased in consequence even till the age of the Roman emperors. Cicero calls it "*urbem magnam et gravem*," and the young Octavius, the future Augustus of Rome, was sent hither to receive his education, and had actually remained six months in the city, before the death of Julius Cæsar summoned him to Italy*. A circumstance which doubtless contributed to maintain the importance of Apollonia, was its being a principal point of communication between Italy and all the northern parts of Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, &c. Situated nearly opposite to the Italian port of Brundusium, it formed the commencement of the great road called the Via Ignatia, which proceeded eastwards to Thessalonica, through the considerable towns of Lychnis, Heraclea, Lyncestas, Eordos, Edessa, and Pella. This situation, as well as the size of the city and the fertility of the surrounding plains, rendered it frequently an object of military importance, as was particularly the case in the war between Philip and the Romans, and in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey†. The periods of its decline and final destruction do not distinctly appear, but probably were not very distant from those of Nicopolis, and the other cities of this district.

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* Cic. Philip. xi. Plut. in vit. M. Bruti. Appian, lib. iii.

† Liv. lib. xxiv. xl. Cæs. Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

The position of Apollonia has occasionally been mistaken by geographers, who have placed it to the north of the Apsus, and near the mouth of that river. The similarity between the Aous and the Apsus in their name and general course, has probably led to this mistake, which is clearly corrected by the testimony of ancient writers*. There can be no doubt that Apollonia was situated near the coast, a little to the north of the mouth of the Aous,—a site which, independently of the name and actual remains, will be found to correspond perfectly with that of Pollina. The Apsus enters the sea still further to the north,—a circumstance distinctly shewn by the narrative of the two wars of which I have just spoken. It appears that the territory of Apollonia extended northwards to this river; and, in former times, as at present, was remarkable for the fertility of its soil, formed chiefly by alluvial depositions.†

The limits of the ancient city cannot now be accurately traced, as the vestiges of the walls are very inconsiderable. It seems, however, to have stood on, or amongst, a groupe of low hills which rise upon the plains, with a western and southern aspect towards the coast, and the mouth of the Viosa. A Doric column, forming the most conspicuous object among the ruins, may be distant somewhat more than two miles from the sea, which, immediately opposite this point, connects itself with a salt-water lake upon the plains. This column, the sole remains of an ancient temple, stands on one of the eminences just mentioned. The modern monastery is placed on another hill, about half a mile to the north of the former; and which likewise, in all

* Ptolemy, in describing Illyricum, mentions successively Dyrrachium, the mouth of the Apsus, Apollonia, and the mouth of the Aous. Strabo, (lib. 7.) Pliny (lib. iii. c. 23.) and Polybius (v. 110.) are all equally distinct as to the situation of Apollonia, near the mouth of the Aous. In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, when the latter was at Dyrrachium, Cæsar took a position on the Apsus to cover Apollonia, of which he was at this time the master. Plutarch (in vitâ Flaminii) is perhaps not equally correct as to the relative situation of the two rivers.

† Cæs. Bell. Civ. lib. iii. Di. Cass. lib. xli.

probability, made a part of the old city. A third eminence, adjoining the other two, was also perhaps occupied by the buildings of the place. The actual remains of Apollonia are very inconsiderable. Until within the last few years, a groupe of columns stood upon the spot, where only one is now left; but these, with various other architectural vestiges, were destroyed or carried away to furnish materials for the buildings of the Pashalic of Berat. It was told me that at Berat numerous fragments of columns, bas-reliefs, &c. might be seen intermixed with the heterogeneous forms of Turkish architecture.

In situation and appearance the monastery of Pollina is very picturesque. Groupes of trees are scattered over the hill on which it stands: a lofty square tower, and a circular one with a conical cupola, rise above the other buildings of the monastery: several ancient cypresses, which surround them, add a character of sanctity to the spot. Most of the stones, of which the buildings are composed, have evidently been taken from the ruins of Apollonia. Various fragments of statues and columns I found enclosed in the walls of the monastery; and some fine sculptured marbles under the portico, which forms the entrance to the chapel. In one place I discovered the remains of a fine basso-relievo, the figure of a man thrusting with his foot to the ground, a female, who is on her knees before him, her arms raised in the air; while another male figure behind, is apparently dragging back the former from his victim. The attitude of the female in this groupe is very striking; and the sculpture seems to have had much excellence, but is now greatly defaced by time. From its size and form, the stone probably belonged to the frieze of one of the temples of Apollonia.

In various parts of the buildings of the monastery, particularly about the great gate, I found pieces of sculpture apparently of much later date, and of very rude workmanship; the figures of animals, branches, and leaves. I copied also several Greek inscriptions, which occur in the walls; but with one exception, they were all sepulchral, and afforded nothing worthy of particular notice.

BOMBAY
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

H. Holland, del. John Le Keux, sculp.

Doric Column, of Apollonia.

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Jan. 1, 1813.

From the monastery, I went to examine the Doric column, already mentioned. That it belonged to an ancient temple, is at once evident from the nature of the ground, without reference to the other seven columns, which have been carried from this place to Berat. The whole shaft, and part of the capital still remain, and the fluting is tolerably perfect. The diameter of the column, about two feet from the base, is somewhat more than four feet four inches; its height I had no longer the means of accurately measuring; but I should estimate it at about 24 feet; an intermediate proportion to the eye between the Parthenon of Athens, and the Doric temple at Corinth. It appears to have been one of the angular columns of the building. An area indistinctly marked by channels in the ground, gives a length of about 44 yards; with an extent of nearly 16 in the other dimension. The surface, however, is so much covered with soil and brush-wood, that no other remains are visible on the spot, except a few imperfect fragments of stone.

The situation in which this temple stood is remarkably fine, commanding a view of great extent and variety. To the south-west and west, are seen the mouth of the Viosa; the fertile plains stretching along the shores of the Adriatic; the sea itself beyond; and a small island, probably that of Sason, mentioned by Polybius*. Following the landscape to the south and south-east, the celebrated ridge of the Acroceraunian mountains terminates the view. These mountains, which I had but indistinctly seen the night before in approaching the monastery, begin beyond the port of Avlona, and to the south of the Viosa, and extend far along the coast; presenting an outline of great height, and remarkable abruptness. Succeeding to them in the circuit of the landscape, are the mountains, forming the valley of the Viosa above Carbonara; and following the view towards the north, the great mountain of Tomerit, and the plains or low ranges of hill, which extend along the coast towards Durazzo, being the

* Polyb. v. 110.

southern part of the ancient Illyria. In this direction probably were the silver mines of Damastium, mentioned by Strabo. The traveller, seeing from the site of Apollonia, the flocks of sheep which feed on the adjoining plains, will be reminded of the anecdote of Herodotus, regarding the sacred sheep of the sun, which anciently were held in such veneration by the people of this city.*

When leaving Ioannina, I had the intention of visiting the city of Berat, which is not more than a day's journey from Pollina; but the loss of clothes, together with my papers, prevented the execution of this design. There is nothing remarkable, as I understand, about the place, which has now lost its importance as the residence of a Pasha. It is said to contain about 15,000 inhabitants.

Having remained at the monastery till noon, without seeing any thing of the people, whom I had sent in search of my portmanteau; I decided on returning to Fracola, to await their arrival there. Before leaving Pollina I received a request from the monks, that I would speak to Ali Pasha on their behalf, praying him for a protection against the visits of the Albanese soldiery, and the other depredators, who infested their residence. They were so earnest in their entreaties, that I gave them the promise of using, for their good, any influence I might have.

At Fracola I met the *sourudzè* returning, without any tidings of my portmanteau. My anxiety on this subject induced me to return still

* These sacred sheep of Apollonia derived their sanctity from certain oracular declarations of Delphi and Dodona. The principal people of the city had the charge of them year by year, in turns. While one Euenius was intrusted with the guard, the wolves got into the cavern where they were kept, and killed 60 of the number. For his supposed negligence, Euenius was deprived of his eyes; after which, the remaining sheep instantly became barren, and the ground no longer yielded its proper verdure. The oracles being consulted, it was answered, that he had been unjustly treated, and that compensation must be made him, before these calamities could be removed. In consequence of this, the blind Euenius received two of the finest farms about Apollonia, as a satisfaction for the loss of his eyes. See Herodot. lib. ix. 93.

further upon my former route, and I proceeded to a village a few miles further up the valley of the Viosa, whence I dispatched Martino and my Greek servant, to renew the search, directing them to proceed as far as the ferry of Lundra. Meanwhile I took up my quarters in an Albanian cottage, or hut, built simply of mud, reeds, and the stalks of Indian corn. All the villages in this district consist of houses of similar construction, and are peculiarly rude in their aspect. The appearance of the inhabitants, as far as I could judge, corresponds with this character. They are of the Albanian tribe of Toskides; and if the opinion be well founded that the Albanians are descended from the ancient Illyrians, they may be considered as actually inhabiting the country which belonged to their remote ancestors. The region of Illyricum, though not perhaps very exactly defined, appears to have comprehended a part of the country to the north of the Aous, near the mouth of this river.

The weather, though now the 20th of March, was still frosty and cold; and even thus near to the coast all the higher mountains in the landscape were covered with snow. The view from the village where I slept, of the Acroceraunian mountains, now called the Chimarra, shewed in a singular manner the serrated outline of this lofty ridge.

The following morning I proceeded further up the valley, to meet the party whom I had sent off the evening before. They returned with the same want of success as in their former search. Assured now that I had little chance of repairing my loss, I was compelled to determine upon returning to Ioannina as speedily as possible, resigning reluctantly, from the want of clothes and other necessaries, several objects which would have been interesting to me in this part of Albania. The only deviation on which I could venture from the direct route, was in going to the city of Avlona, at the northern extremity of the Chimarra Mountains, as well to visit the place, as to obtain fresh horses for my journey.

Crossing by a difficult ferry to the south side of the Viosa, I pursued my route to Avlona, over the plains which border on this river, and on a smaller stream descending from the neighbourhood of

Delvino, and having its course in a northerly direction between the mountains of the Chimarra, and the ridges which stretch along the western side of the Viosa*. Between this river and Avlona, I crossed a low chain of hills, which I found to be chiefly composed of grey lamellar gypsum, resembling that of the great gypsum formation I had observed on the banks of the Kalama. This formation appears also to be very considerable, the hills stretching for some miles in a direction parallel to the shores of the gulph of Avlona. These hills render the approach to the town very beautiful. They are intersected by deep vallies, the sides of which are covered with wood: at their foot, and in part encircled by them, is seen the town; beyond it a stripe of fertile plain stretching down to the shore. The gulph of Avlona is so environed by hills, that it has the appearance of a great lake, the southern boundary of which is formed by the steep and rugged ascent of the Acroceraunian mountains.

Descending from the hills, we entered the town, and proceeding along a handsome street, belonging rather to the Italian than Turkish style of building, came to a large edifice, formerly the residence of the Pasha, now inhabited by the Albanian Commandant, who governs in the name of Ali Pasha. I found this man sitting in an open gallery which traverses the street just mentioned, surrounded by Albanian soldiers, himself a man between fifty and sixty, of strong masculine appearance. It was told me that he had been in the service of Ibrahim, during the wars between this Pasha and Ali; but that in consideration of his influence in this part of the country, and probably other more concealed circumstances he had gained the favour of the Vizier, and been appointed to his present situation. My passport procured me great attention from him; and being informed of the loss of my portmanteau, he immediately gave orders that twelve Albanian soldiers should be sent to the different villages of my former route,

* Can this river be the Celydnus of antiquity? Its modern name, I understood, but on doubtful authority, to be the Suchitza.

with directions not to return till they had recovered it. Whether this was actually done, I had not the means of knowing, but it is most probable that the order was merely a nominal one.

The town of Avlona, or Salona, existed in ancient times under the same name, and had some importance as a maritime place, from the secure station for shipping which its gulph afforded. In the war between Cæsar and Pompey on this coast, it continued in the interest of the former, and repelled the attack of M. Octavius, one of Pompey's generals, who was sent against it *. Its long connection with Italy has given much of Italian exterior to the modern town, though the population is now almost entirely Mahometan, and the number of Greek families in the place does not exceed thirty. Until the submission of Ibrahim Pasha to the superior force of Ali, it was connected with the Pashalik of Berat. Its subjection to the latter gives him a port of considerable importance, as an outlet for the produce of this country. The exports are chiefly of wheat, maize, wool, oil, and mineral pitch, the latter article being derived from the mines of Selenitza, about eight miles from Avlona; the oil and grain from the hills surrounding the gulph, and from the great plains and vallies in this part of Albania. The town contains nearly a thousand houses. There are six mosques in it, and one Greek church. Besides the export trade of the place, it has long been one of the principal channels for the introduction of Italian and German goods into the interior of Albania.

The district of the Chimarra, or Acroceraunian mountains, stretching along the coast to the south of the gulph of Avlona, resembles that of Suli in having maintained a sort of rude independence amidst the many petty revolutions which have occurred in this part of Turkey. The Chimarriotes belong to the Albanian tribe of the Liapides, inhabiting the country between Avlona and Delvino. Like the Suliotes, they have always had the character of wildness and ferocity in their habits; and it was their custom to make excursions into the

* Cæs. Comm. Bel. Civ. lib. iii.

neighbouring districts for the sake of plunder, until the more powerful government of Ali Pasha reduced them to a state of comparative tranquillity. Their principal occupation is that of shepherds, the mountains supporting numerous and large flocks of sheep. Some of the vallies and skirts of the hills are tolerably well cultivated, and have a large population; the higher parts of the mountains are covered in great measure with oaks or pines. On the coast underneath the ridges of Chimarra is Porto Panormo, or Palermo, the Panormus of antiquity. The place where Cæsar disembarked his army, in coming from Brundusium, is probably in the vicinity of Palassa, on the same coast, immediately to the south of the gulph of Avlona. There are many vestiges of ancient towns in this vicinity, amongst others some which seem to indicate the site of Oricum, at a place which still has the name of Ric.

Pliny speaks of the Aornus of Epirus, as situated among the Acroceraunian mountains; but I am not aware of any circumstance to indicate the place to which he alludes. The origin of the name of these hills, from the lightning which frequently fell upon them, is particularly mentioned by Eustathius. The dread felt by the Roman navigators of the "infames scopulos" of the Acroceraunian mountains is well known; and it may easily be understood how this coast, the first seen by those coming from Italy, should have been rendered formidable by its abrupt exposure to the west, and to the gusts of wind descending down the narrow channel of the Adriatic.

On the 21st of March, having procured fresh horses by the care of the Commandant, I quitted Avlona, with the intention of returning to Ioannina as speedily as possible, being now in want of almost every thing that could be required for travelling with advantage or comfort. I was gratified by the opportunity of taking in my way the pitch mines already mentioned at Selenitza, on the left bank of the Viosa. In proceeding thither, I crossed by a new route the chain of gypsum hills; the valley of the river coming from Delvino, and a second low ridge of hills, dividing this valley from that of the Viosa. These hills are of recent formation, composed of a limestone conglo-

merate, very easy of decomposition; of shale, and of a soft and friable sandstone. The pitch formation of Selenitza is in the same range of high ground, — somewhat further, up the valley of the Viosa, on the way to Carbonara. The hills at this place are broken by numerous deep ravines, dividing them into irregular and intersecting ridges, on the declivity of one of which is the wretched village of Selenitza, inhabited entirely by the workmen of the mines. An assemblage of these people we met near the village, and a Greek priest, whom I found amongst them, undertook to be my guide to all that was to be seen on the spot.

The mineral pitch formation at this place, is one of the most considerable that have yet been described, though doubtless much inferior to that which occurs near the shores of the Caspian Sea. I had not the time, or other means, to ascertain its extent with accuracy; but from the observation of different points in the circuit pointed out to me, I should conceive that the bed or beds of this mineral, must be diffused over a surface, at least four miles in circumference, though probably very irregular in the definition of its boundary. The pitch comes out in various places on the declivity of the ravines, which intersect the district; and it is occasionally worked in such situations, but more frequently by shafts, sunk down from the surface. I could not satisfactorily learn, whether it was to be regarded as originally one continuous bed, or as an assemblage of smaller deposits of the mineral; but I should conceive the former opinion as the most probable one. The pitch is covered only by a loose deposit of calcareous earth and clay, by beds of shale, &c. the thickness of which is various in different places.

Placed in the noose of a rope, and let down by a windlass, I descended into one of the shafts, about half a mile from the village. The depth of this shaft, from the surface, did not exceed 40 feet, nearly 30 feet of which were cut through the bed of pitch. At this point, while still having a floor of the solid mineral, the workmen had begun to tunnel in an horizontal direction; but the mine was of recent origin, and the workings had yet advanced only a few feet from

the shaft. I could not place perfect reliance on the statements of the priest, or the miners who attended me; but it was their information, that the bed of pitch had in many places three times the thickness of the actual workings, in the mine where I descended; which would make it amount to 70 or 80 feet. It was further stated to me, that in some of the former mines, now filled with water, the horizontal workings had been carried to a distance of nearly 100 paces in different directions from the shaft. In fact, it seems that they are generally continued with one or more shafts, till the water comes in, and compels the miners to change their place of working. This is the principal obstacle they have to encounter; one, which the state of the mechanical arts in this country has yet done nothing to remove.

The compact mineral pitch or asphaltum, of Selenitza, has the usual characters of this substance; in its state of greatest purity. The colour approaches to perfect black, with a resinous lustre; the fracture is conchoidal; it is slightly brittle; the specific gravity 1.4 or 1.5. It becomes viscid, or nearly fluid, when heated, and burns with a flame of considerable brightness. I did not remark much difference of external quality at the various depths of the shaft, by which I descended. It has been unnecessary to make an analysis of the mineral, as it is found here, this having already been done by Klaproth; the results of whose accurate examination, are given below. *

The property of the pitch mines, as of all others in Turkey, is nominally vested in the Grand Seignor; and it was told me that Ali Pasha paid to the Porte, 10,000 piastres per annum, as a rent, or composition for their actual possession. This sum is doubtless small in relation to the present value of the mines; still smaller in its

* This analysis of the Albanian, or Avlona mineral pitch, is given in Klaproth's Analytical Essays, vol. ii. p. 253. He found 100 grains of the mineral, to yield 36 cubic inches of carbonated hydrogen, 32 grains of bituminous oil, 6 grains of water, slightly impregnated with ammonia, 30 grains of charcoal, 7½ grains of silex, 4½ grains of alumine, 1¼ grains of oxide of iron, with very minute traces of lime, and manganese.

proportion to their capability of being extended and rendered more profitable. The extent of the pitch formation, which may possibly much exceed what I have ventured to surmise; the great thickness of the deposit, and the convenience, in various respects, of the situation, give a commercial value to the mines of Selenitza, doubtless much exceeding that which now belongs to them. The exact amount of the present export I could not learn; but it was stated to me generally, that six or seven large cargoes were annually sent from Avlona; chiefly to Malta, and different ports on the Italian coast. The carriage to Avlona is performed by horses, at the expence of one para per oke, or about a shilling per cwt. Were the mines placed under a more enlightened scheme of management, the nature of the intervening country would doubtless allow of more economical means of transport.

The machinery employed about the shafts of these mines is of the simplest kind, consisting merely of ropes, windlasses, and wicker baskets. The miners are paid according to the number of okes of the mineral, which they may severally obtain. When at the bottom of the shaft, and wishing to re-ascend, I was refused by these people, until I had paid them a small sum of money; a practical joke not confined to the miners of Selenitza.

It seems certain that the ancients were acquainted with this deposit of pitch, though it does not appear equally clear that the mineral was formerly worked with economical views. Strabo speaks of a place called Nymphæum, in the country of the Apolloniates, where there was a rock yielding fire, from below which issued fountains of asphaltum*. Though we find in Cæsar the mention of a port of Nymphæum, on the coast to the north of the Apsus †, there can be little doubt that the Nymphæum of Strabo was the pitch formation on the banks of the Viosa; an opinion confirmed by the testimony of other writers as to the phenomena, which occur on the spot. Plutarch in his life of Sylla mentions a remarkable place called Nymphæum, near Apollonia, where the ground had an extra-

* Lib. vii. 487. † Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

ordinary verdure, though giving rise to springs, from which fire continually issued. Dio Cassius is more minute in his account of this place, where, according to his narrative, much fire was given out, without either extending to the neighbouring lands, or parching up those on which it actually appeared *. He further mentions that the effusion of flame was increased by rain; that the spot was called Nymphæum, and that there was an oracle here, which gave responses on all subjects but those of death or marriage, in which there was not permission to consult it. Frankincense was thrown upon the flame; if consumed, the vow was accepted; if not consumed, the oracle was considered unpropitious.

It became an interesting object to seek the present traces of natural phenomena and superstitions, belonging to so remote an age; and they are still distinctly to be found on the spot. In two or three different places, in the vicinity of the pitch-mines, I found an inflammable gas issuing from the ground, which easily took fire and spread a flame to some extent over the surface. The most remarkable of these places was about half a mile from the shaft, where I had descended, on the declivity towards a narrow valley or ravine. A small space of ground, fifteen or twenty yards in circumference, shewed a surface denuded of vegetation, and covered with stones or earth, apparently decomposed by sulphureous vapours. This surface I found to be very sensibly heated; though, having lost my thermometer, I was unable to ascertain its real temperature. On one part of it, a streamlet of water issued from the ground, forming in its egress a little bason, through which rose a vast number of air-bubbles. With this gas, which I immediately conjectured from its situation and other circumstances, to be carburetted hydrogen, I filled a large glass, and applying a light, which Constantine procured by the friction of two pieces of wood, it was instantly inflamed, and burnt with considerable vividness. After this experiment, which greatly

* Dion. Hist. xli. 195. By this historian, Nymphæum is described as on the banks of the Anas, or Aias, which is the name given by Scylax to the Aous, the modern Viosa.

astonished my Albanian guards, I set fire to the bubbles coming through the water. The flame not only continued by the constant exit of the gas; but spread in different directions, from the quantity of air issuing out of crevices in the ground; and when I left the place, it had already spread over a considerable extent of surface. This circumstance, as I was assured by the miners, often occurs from natural causes, especially after heavy rains; the gas, once inflamed, frequently continuing to burn for several weeks in succession *.

This remarkable coincidence with the ancient history of the spot was rendered more striking, by the observation of several sculptured marbles lying upon the ground, within thirty yards of the place, whence the gas issues. One of these marbles appeared as if a sort of cistern; but its position in the ground was such as to render it difficult to ascertain the fact. Though unable to find any inscription which might afford decisive testimony; yet the situation of these marbles renders it more than probable that they had relation to the ancient oracle of Nymphæum, which existed in this place; and from the nature of the ground, I think it probable that excavation might disclose other evidences to the same effect. These distinct illustrations of mythology, afforded by the permanence of natural phenomena, are among the peculiar gratifications of the traveller in Greece. †

The production of carburetted hydrogen in the vicinity of a deposit of mineral pitch, and the greater abundance of this gas after rains, are facts which admit of an easy explanation. It would seem from the local appearances, that a minute portion of sulphur is extricated at the same time, possibly in the form of sulphurated hydrogen. The phenomena, formerly noticed, as having occurred near the lake of

* Phenomena similar to those of the inflammable spring at Nymphæum occur at Pietra Mala, among the Apennines, in the route between Bologna and Florence.

† It appears that Nymphæum was the name of several other places of antiquity, where there were bituminous springs, connected with religious observances. Strabo mentions a Nymphæum in Athamania, where a temple of the Nymphs stood in the vicinity of certain springs of this kind. Bryant, in accordance with his theory of Greek mythology, has derived the words Nymphæum, Nymph, Naptha, &c. from *Ain-Omphi*, signifying the fountains of the oracle, or of the deity of fire.

Zerovina, and in the district of Charamoutates, were probably analogous to those of Selenitza; and it is not impossible that there may be local deposits of pitch, of greater or less extent, in these situations. I do not here enter into the speculation as to the origin of this mineral, whether vegetable or otherwise, as I did not at Selenitza remark any circumstance that could throw new light upon this particular subject.

From the mines of Selenitza I directed my route a second time to Carbonara, which is but a few miles further up the Viosa. Here I left one of my guards to renew in this vicinity the search after the package I had lost, while with the remainder I took the direct road along the river to Tepeleni, where I arrived the evening of the following day. I do not weary the reader with any details of a route, which has already been described. At Tepeleni, though with some inconvenience, I deviated from it, to make a short excursion up the valley of the Bentza, and to the summit of a part of the chain of Argenik, induced to do this by the report of there being metallic ores at a certain place in this vicinity. The excursion in this respect proved to be wholly fruitless. The spot to which I was conducted shewed no appearance of such ores; nor was it probable from the character of the limestone rock of Argenik, or the particular situation of the place, that they should occur here.

From Tepeleni I continued my journey without further interruption to Ioannina, where I arrived on the evening of the third day. The only deviation I made from my former route was in leaving Argyro-Kastro to the west, and skirting along the declivity of the mountains which form the eastern boundary of this great valley. In pursuing this road, I passed the Khan of Valiera, where the Gardikiotes had been massacred twelve months before, and saw there the melancholy spectacle which was described in the preceding chapter. From the Khan I ascended very far up the mountains, which here probably are more than 3000 feet in height, to the monastery of Spilio, where I passed the night. This place has its name from some extensive caverns, partly natural, partly artificial, which occur in a limestone cliff that overhangs the monastery. One of these caves,

about forty feet above the base of the cliff, has been fitted up as a chapel, approachable only by a ladder attached to the rock. The situation of the monastery itself is very remarkable, at the height certainly of not less than 1500 feet above the valley of Argyro-Kastro, and almost directly underneath the vast precipices which form the summit of the ridge. Though now the 24th of March, the snow was still lying in large quantity at the foot of these precipices, at the distance of but a few hundred feet above the monastery. There are said to be many wolves on the mountains, bounding the valley of Argyro-Kastro, which inflict considerable mischief on the flocks in this district.

Two miles to the south of Spilio, and immediately opposite Argyro-Kastro, are the vestiges of an ancient city, consisting merely of Cyclopian walls, which follow the circuit of an irregular tabular hill, one of the secondary eminences on the declivity of the great mountain-chain above. A peasant shewed me a few coins which he said had been found on the spot, — but they were of the Roman emperors, and indicated nothing as to the ancient name or condition of the place.

On the declivity of these mountains are numerous large villages, remarkably picturesque in their situation among woods and orchards, and exhibiting more neatness and comfort than are usually found in the villages of Albania. In those called Cesarades and Taxarades, the habitations are large and well built; and the dress of the inhabitants, especially of the females, has a picturesque and agreeable character, from the red cotton stuffs, of which it is in great measure composed. I was told that one or two of these villages had been formed by emigrants from Constantinople, who, in this place, pursue their original occupation, as the artizans of embroidery, and ornamented stuffs; still retaining their connections with the capital of Turkey.

I arrived at Ioannina on the evening of the 25th, and resumed my former abode there, until the arrival of Mr. G. Foresti, the British resident, who was daily expected from Prevesa.

CHAP. XXV.

THIRD RESIDENCE AT IOANNINA. — INTERVIEWS WITH ALI PASHA. — DEPARTURE FOR PREVESA AND ZANTE. — CONCLUSION.

IN returning to Ioannina from my northern journey, I had proposed to remain there very few days; but the solicitation of the Vizier, and the anxiety to recover my papers, if it were yet possible, detained me more than a fortnight. During this time I made almost daily visits to Ali Pasha, and occasionally twice a day, at a time when he was slightly indisposed. In the first interview with him after my return, he shewed the same interest as before in the detail of my journey, and asked numerous questions on the subject. The one upon which he dwelt most repeatedly was, whether I had discovered any precious metals in my route, either in the ground or among the ruins I had visited. I explained to him the improbability, from the nature of the rocks in Albania, that gold or silver should be found here, and the equal improbability that there should be concealed treasures among any of these ruins. It did not seem that he was perfectly convinced on this point, since both now and afterwards he repeated the question, and asked in particular with earnestness about the inscription at Gradista, which he thought might afford a clue to some such treasures. I endeavoured to turn a conversation, on which I could not satisfy him, by speaking of the pitch mines, and proposing certain improvements which might extend their value, and render more economical the mode of working them. From some motive or other he did not appear to take interest in this subject, but shifted it back again, as soon as possible, to the more favourite one just referred to.

He asked my opinion of the Albanians whom I had seen in different districts, and particularly respecting those in the country about

Tepeleni, giving me at the same time several anecdotes to illustrate their attachment to his person. He afterwards alluded to my visit to the deserted city of Gardiki, and to the Khan of Valiera, as if to enquire what were my feelings on the subject, accompanying his question with a singular expression of countenance, and a sort of hoarse, suppressed laugh, which was not unusual to him. An article he had seen in the French papers, narrating this event in terms of severe reprobation, had made him already, in some degree, aware of the sentiments with which Europeans would regard it. Perceiving, probably, this sentiment in the tone with which I answered him, he asked whether I had read the inscription placed upon the wall of the Khan. I contented myself by simply replying, that, from its position, I had been unable to peruse the tablet, but that I understood the nature of its contents. The conversation terminated here, and he never again recurred to this subject.

At a subsequent interview, he expressed his desire to know what I thought of his son Sali Bey. After giving a favourable opinion of the boy's talents, I mentioned the advantage he might derive from travelling for a short time in Europe. The Vizier immediately replied that his ideas were the same, and that he had already determined upon his son's leaving Albania, when sixteen years of age, to travel for four or five years. He added, that he designed to send him first to Morocco to spend a year there; afterwards to England; thence to France, Germany, and Russia; and finally to Constantinople, and some of the Turkish cities in Asia. This detail of his plan was given with more correctness of geography than is usual with the limited knowledge of the Turks.

I spoke to him of the request I had received from the monks of Pollina, that I would procure, if possible, some protection to their monastery. He acceded at once to my wishes on the subject, and immediately ordered a mandate to be drawn out, which, placed in the hands of the monks, might exempt them from the visits of the Albanese soldiery, or other ill-usage. To this mandate he put his signature

in my presence, and gave it in charge to my former guard, Martino, who was returning to this part of Albania.

I made the Vizier acquainted with the loss I had sustained in the neighbourhood of Carbonara; of which, however, I judged from his manner that he had been previously informed. He professed immediately the intention of sending orders to this district, that the search should be carefully renewed; gave me confident assurance of success, and urged strongly my continuing at Ioannina till his couriers should return. I consented to do this, though almost entirely without hope on the subject. The event proved that I had judged rightly in giving little credit to the expectations held out.

During my present stay at Ioannina, I was much occupied in a medical capacity, both among the Turkish and Greek families of the city. Among other patients, on whom I attended at this time, was Yusuf Aga, the old Moor of Tepeleni, who, coming to Ioannina on some business with the Vizier, had been attacked, during the latter part of his journey, with pleuritic symptoms of much violence. I visited him at the desire of Ali Pasha, together with two of the physicians of the Vizier; but this was just before my departure, and his recovery was still uncertain when I quitted Ioannina.

I saw Ali Pasha, for the last time, on the evening of the 7th of April; my departure, notwithstanding many remonstrances on his part, having been fixed for the following morning. I found him at this time holding a sort of council with four of his principal Turkish ministers, who were sitting on the floor before him, and who, when I entered, retired into an adjoining apartment. The Vizier received me with peculiar kindness of manner; said, that he should rely upon my not forgetting him, and should still hope for my return to Ioannina at some future period. He desired that I would write to him whenever an occasion was afforded, and give him any further advice that might occur to me regarding his health. He enquired respecting my family, and told me to salute them on his behalf. Unwilling to protract this interview, I speedily rose to depart;

certainly not without a sentiment of regret in leaving a man, who, whatever be his habits as the despotic ruler of a half-civilized people, had interested me greatly by his talents, by his conversation, and by the uniform courtesy and kindness with which he had treated me, during my several visits to his court. A sentiment, derived from sources of this kind, may be admitted, notwithstanding much that comes in counteraction of it from the moral qualities of the mind. When I rose from the couch to make my adieu, the Vizier rose also, and advancing towards the middle of the apartment with me, kissed each cheek in bidding me farewell. This finished, I quitted, for the last time, the Seraglio of Ali Pasha.

I travelled to Salaora in one of the Vizier's carriages, making this journey in two days, very nearly by the same route I had taken in coming to Ioannina the preceding autumn. From Salaora I went down the gulph of Arta to Prevesa, and thence crossed over to the isle of Santa Maura, where I was fortunate in finding a vessel on the point of sailing for Zante. It was an additional satisfaction that the course of this voyage enabled me to visit Ithaca a second time, and to examine several objects which I had neglected in my first excursion to this isle.

At this place it is necessary to take leave of the reader who may have followed me thus far in the narrative of my travels. To describe my returning voyage down the Mediterranean, or a journey I afterwards made across Spain from Valencia to Biscay, would be to increase the size of my volume by topics which are already familiar to the public, or will doubtless become so from more accurate sources of information. For the reasons given in the Preface, I have confined myself, as far as possible, to those districts of country which are at present least known by the description of the traveller;—and though in several respects,—particularly as to what regards the character and situation of the modern Greeks,—I feel myself to be superseded by other writers, yet I would willingly hope, that the subject of Greece has not lost all its interest, even amidst the details which have been afforded by the

accurate examination of later years. The mine of discovery in this interesting country cannot yet be considered as closed. Olympia, Delphi, Corinth, and Thebes still offer various objects of active research; and the fortunate result of recent undertakings affords in this respect an ample encouragement for the future. The portions of Greece to which I have chiefly directed the attention of the reader are certainly not the most interesting in reference to ancient history, or ancient arts. Nevertheless it will have been remarked, that they furnish many valuable illustrations of antiquity; and still further, that they form at the present time an object of no mean importance in relation to the political state of Europe. The sudden creation of an active and absolute power in this country, forming a single force out of many parts that before were separate in effect, is well deserving of attention, both in its present character and in its influence upon the future condition of Greece. It directs the view to a period possibly not remote, when a still more active and intelligent power may have rule in this part of Europe, and exercise an influence upon the balance of its other parts, much more important than can now be derived from the impotent mass of the Turkish empire.

Of late years the Greeks, considering them in their whole extent as a people, have been making progress in population, in commerce, in education, and literature; and above all, as it would seem, in that independent consciousness of power which is necessary as a step to their future liberation. From what source this liberation is likely to arise, it would be too much to presume where the fact itself is still of doubtful occurrence. The traveller in Greece, noticing those particular vices of character which are always the consequence of slavery, and contrasting them with the temper of the ancient Greeks, might be apt to believe that their regeneration was impossible, and that political change in this country would be but the transference of submission.

To such an opinion I cannot, from my own observation, give assent. I certainly am far from believing that the ancient Greeks, with all their peculiarities of national spirit and usage, will be revived

in the people who now inhabit this country. The race has undergone many changes, — the condition of the surrounding world still more. But this belief is by no means necessary to the question; and it still remains a matter of interesting speculation, whether a nation may not be created in this part of Europe, either through its own or foreign efforts, which may be capable of bearing a part in all the affairs and events of the civilized world. Were the question proposed to me as one of probability, I should be disposed to answer in the affirmative. The further question, as to consequences, is too remote, as well as too extensive to allow me to enter into its discussion.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Account of Major Du Bosset's Discoveries, extracted from the Romaic Newspaper, published at Zante. See page 39.

Ζακυνθ.

Εἰς τὰς πρώτας τῦ παρελθόντος μηνος Ε. Ν. ὁ Διοικητὴς τῆς Κεφαλληνίας Κύριος Μαγγιὸρ Δεβοσσὲτ ἀνέσκαψε κάποια μέρη ἰρία μίλλια μακρὰν ἀπὸ τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς Σκάλλας, κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τῆς νήσυ, κ᾽ ὄχι τόσον μακρὰν ἀπὸ τὸ παράθαλάσσιον. εὕρηκε λοιπὸν σκάπωλας τὰ θεμέλια ἑνος παλαιῦ ναῦ κατεσκευασμένυ καλα ἠν ἰεχνην ἰῶν Δωριέων. καὶ τελείως αγνωρισε ἕως τώρα, ἐπειδὴ ἦτον διολυ χωσμένος μέσα εἰς τὴν γῆν. ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ ἡ αἴνοια εἶιναν αιτία νὰ φθαρῶσι τελειως τὰ λειψανα αὐτῦ ναῦ. μόνοι μερικοὶ σέλεχοι σύλων ἔμειναν σῴοι ἀπὸ ἠν φθορὰν μὲ ὸ νὰ τὲς εἶχαν βαλμένες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν μιᾶς μικρᾶς ἐκκλησίας ῥωμαϊκῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχαν κτίσῃ ἐπάνω εἰς ἕνα μέρος αὐτῶν τῶν θεμελίων κ᾽ ἡ ὁποία ἦτον ἕ α ἐρείπιον. ἐκρήμνισε λοιπὸν ὰ μικρὰ λείψανα τῦ τείχυστης, ἔλαβε σῶα ἐκεῖνα τὰ κομμάτι α τῶν σύλων, καὶ ἐδυνήθη μὲ αὐτὸν ὸν ὸρόπον νὰ μετρήσῃ τὰ θεμελια τῦ ναῦ, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀποδεικνύεται ὅτι ἦτον, κατὰ μὲν τὸ μάκρος 113 πόδῶν Ἀγγλικῶν κατὰ δὲ τὸ πλατος 43.

Τὸ ἐσωτερικὸν αὐτῦ τῦ ναῦ εἶναι διηρημένον εἰς πέντε μέρη εἰς τὸ πλατύτερον ἀπὸ αὐτὰ τὰ μέρη εὑρέθη τὸ ὑποπόδιον, ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον φαίνεται, ὅτι ἐστηρίζετο ἕνα Ἄγαλμα ἐκ μαρμαρυ τῦ Θεῦ, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐκεῖ ἐλατρέυετο. ἐὰν κρίνωμεν περὶ τέτυ τῦ ἀγάλματος ἀπὸ ὰς συνηριμμένες βραχίονας καὶ πόδας, ὁποῦ ἐκεῖ εὑρέθησαν, αὐτὸ φαίνεται, ὅτι εἶχεν ἕνα μέγεθος μέτριον καὶ φυσικόν. εὑρέθησαν παρομοίως ἐκεῖ ἕνας σελεχος μαρμαρένιος ἑνὸς μικροτά τυ αγάλματος μιᾶς γυναικὸς, διαφοραι κεφαλαὶ λεόντων. δύω ἐπισύλια, μερικά κεραμύδια κεντισμένα μὲ διάφορα

σχήματα ἀνθέων, καὶ διάφορα ἄλλα ἀναϊκαία ϛολίδια ἀπὸ ναοῦ ἐκ σιδήρου καὶ χαλκοῦ, καθὼς ἀκόμι καὶ μερικὰ νομίσματα τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων τῆς Κωνϛαντινουπόλεως, ὁ ναὸς αὐτὸς ἦτον περικυκλωμένος ἀπὸ μίαν ϛοάν.

Ἀκολουθῶν λοιπὸν νὰ σκάπτῃ καὶ πλησίον εἰς τὰ ἐρείπια τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους τοῦ Πρόνυ, εὕρηκε πολλὰς ϛακτοθήκας (κάλπεις) διαφόρων εἰδῶν καὶ ὄγκων. μερικαὶ ἀπὸ αὐτὰς ἦτον κατὰ τὸ ὕψος 4 ἕως 5 ποδῶν, μὲ μίαν ζύπαν ἀπὸ τὸ ἐπάνω μέρος δύω ἡμισυ ποδῶν. τὰ σκέλεθρα, τὰ μικρὰ ἀΓΓεῖα τὰ διάφορα διὰ καλλωπισμὸν πραγματα ὁποῦ εὑρέθησαν ἐκεῖ, δὲν μᾶς συϛχωροῦσι νὰ ἀμφιβάλλωμεν, ὅτι αὐταὶ αἱ κάλπεις δὲν ἐχρησίμευον διὰ μνημεῖα, εἰς τὰ ὁποία νὰ ἔβαναν σῶα καὶ ὁλόκληρα τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα. αὐταὶ, αἱ ὁποίαι ἦτον ἀπὸ χῶμα αἱ περισσότεραι, καὶ κατεσκευασμέναι ἁπλαὶ καὶ ἀκαλλωπιϛαι, συντρίβονται μὲ μεγάλην εὐκολίαν εὐθὺς ὁποῦ τὰς εὐγαλῇ τινὰς ἀπὸ τὸ χῶμα ὁποῦ τὰς περιτυλύγει.

Αὐτὴ ἡ ἀνεύρεσις εἶναι περισσότερον ἀπὸ ζὰς ἄλλας ἀξιοπερίεργος, ἐπειδὴ ἕνα τοιοῦτον εἶδος μνημείων, (παλαιότατον ἀναμφιβόλως) φαίνεται ὅτι δὲν τὸ γνωρίζουσιν οἱ φιλοπερίεργοι τῆς Παλαιότητος. ἀνευρέθησαν πρὸς ζέϛοις καὶ λείψανα ἑνὸς παλαιοῦ τείχους ἀγνωρίϛου παρὰ πᾶσιν εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι πιθανὸν, ὅτι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸ καθεσκεύασαν, (δύω λέγας μακρὰν ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν) διὰ νὰ διαυθεντεύωσι τὴν διάβασιν τὴν μεταξὺ Σάμου καὶ Πρόνυ.

No. II.

Account of Mr. Sadler's Ascension in his Balloon from Ireland, extracted from the same Newspaper.

Ο περίφημος Αεροναύτης Κύριος Σάδλερ, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔφθασε νὰ περιτρέξῃ τὸν ἀέρα ἕως 30 φοραῖς, ἀπεφάσισε νὰ ἀπεράσῃ μὲ τὴν ἀεροβατικὴν μηχανήντε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἱρλάνδαν εἰς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν καὶ νὰ κάμῃ καὶ μίαν διάβασιν ἐπάνω τῦ πελαΐες πλέον ἐκτεταμμένην ἀπὸ ἐκείνην ὁπῦ ἔκαμε ὁ Βλάνσαρδ, ὁπόταν διεπέρασε τὸ ςῆνὸν τῦ Καλέ. Ἦτο τὸ τολμηρὸν ἐγχείρημα πρὸ καιρῦ ἤδη γνωςὸν, τῇ 1 τῦ παρελθόντ. Οκτωμβρίε ἐβάλθη εἰς ἐνέργειαν. λοιπὸν περὶ τὴν 1 ὥραν μετὰ τὸ μεσημέριον αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ ὀστῆτιον (ὀνομαζόμενον βελβεδέρε) πλησίον εἰς τὸ Δυβλῖνον, παρόντων ἐκεῖ ἀπείρων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ κροτέντων τὰς χείρας, ἀνυψώθη εἰς τὸν ἀέρα. ὁ ἄνεμ. ἐφυσᾶσεν ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν ἀπὸ τὸ μέρος τὸ Μεσημβρινοδυτικὸν, καὶ τὸν ἐπῆγαινεν ἐπάνω εἰς τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἀγγλίας 80 μίλλια μακράν. μετὰ τὸν μισευμόντε 35 λεπτὰ, αὐτὸς ἐγνώρισε τὰ ςενὰ τῦ Γαλλες. ἕως τὰς τρεῖς ὥρας ἐκράτησε τὸν αὐτον δρόμον, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἄνεμ. ἦτον ὀλίγον δυνατός, εὑρέθη σχεδὸν ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν νῆσον Μὰν, καὶ ἐκατάλαβεν, ὅτι ἐπλησιαζε πολλὰ εἰς τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῦ Γαλλες. περὶ τὰς 4 ὥρας εἶδε καθαρὰ τὸ φανὰρι τῦ Σκέρη, τὸ ὁποῖον τὸν ἔκαμε νὰ ἐλπίσῃ, ὅτι ὀγλίγωρα μέλλει νὰ φθάσῃ εἰς τὸ ἐπιθυμητὸν τέλ. τῦ ταξειδίε τε δηλ: εἰς τὸ Δυβερπώλ. ὁ ἄνεμ. ὅμως ἄλλαξε τότε, κὴ τὸν ἔφερεν εἰς ἕνα ἄλλον δρόμον, διὰ τὸ ὁποῖον ἔχασε πλέον ἀπ' ἐμπρόςτε τὴν γῆν. ἀφ' ὗ λοιπὸν περιέπλευσεν ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἱκανὴν ὥραν ἀβεβαι. κὴ χωρὶς νὰ ἠξεύρῃ, πῦ εὑρίσκεται, εἶδε μέσα εἰς τὸν Πορθμὸν πέντε Καραβια. ὁπῦ ἔπλεον μὲ ἀνοικτὰ πανία. ςοχαζόμεν. λοιπὸν νὰ εὕρῃ ἀπὸ αὐτὰ βοήθειαν, ἀπεφάσισε τότε ὅσον ἦτον δυνατὸν τὸ ὀγλιγωρότερον νὰ καταβῇ, κὴ διὰ τῦτο ἐκρημνίσθη μὲ ὁρμὴν μέσα εἰς τὸ πέλαγ. βλέπωντας, ὅτι κανένα ἀπὸ τὰ εἰρημένα καράβια δὲν ἐλάμβανε κἀμμίαν προσοχὴν περὶ τύτε, ὅς εὑρίσκετο εἰς μίαν ἀθλιωτάτην κατάςασιν, ἐλυπήθη ἕως θανάτε, κὴ κατηναγκάσθη νὰ ἀνυψωθῇ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα. ἀπέταξεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἕνα ἀρκετὸν μέρος σαβούρας, κὴ ἀφ' ὗ τῦ ἐπέτυχεν εὐθὺς νὰ ἀναβῇ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, ἔπασχε νὰ ξανοίξῃ κἀμμίαν βοήθειαν. ἀπέρασεν ὅμως πολὺς καιρὸς χωρὶς νὰ ἠμπορέσῃ νὰ ἰδῇ τὸ ὑδέν. τέλος πάντων ἔλαβε

τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ξανοίξῃ κ᾽ νὰ ἰδῇ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἕνα Καράβι, ἀπὸ τὸ ὁποῖον οἱ ἄν οι τὸ ἔδιδαν νὰ καταλάβῃ διὰ μέσα τῶν σημείων, ὅτι ἦτον ἕτοιμοι νὰ τὸν βοηθήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ δὲν ἠμπόρεσαν νὰ τὸν πλησιάσωσιν. εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μεταξὺ ἐξάνοιξεν ἀκόμι ἄλλα δύω Καράβια, ἀπὸ τὰ ὁποῖα τὸ ἕνα ἔχρεψε καὶ ἄλλαξε τὸν δρόμοντο. τότε ὁ Κύριος Σάδλερ ἀπεφάσισε πάλιν νὰ ἀφήσῃ τὴν ἀεροβατικὴν μηχανήντο νὰ πέσῃ μέσα εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ὄντας βέβαιος, ὅτι θέλει τὸν βοηθήσειν. ὁπόταν ἡ βαρκέλα τῆς ἀεροβατικῆς μηχανῆς ἔφθασεν ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὁ ἄνεμος ἐφυσᾶσε μὲ τόσην ὁρμὴν ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν μηχανὴν, κ᾽ τὴν παρέσυρνε μὲ τόσην ταχύτητα ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὥςε ὁπᾶ τὸ Καράβι, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτον πλέον συμμαὲ δὲν ἠμπορᾶσε νὰ τὴν φθάσῃ. ὁ Κύριος Σάδλερ διὰ νὰ κάμῃ ἀργὸν τὸ τρέξιμον τῆς μηχανῆς, ἀπέταξεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τὴν ἄγκυράν τε, κ᾽ ἄφησε τὸν φλογιστικὸν ἀέρα [τὸ Γὰς] νὰ ἐξαλμησθῇ. αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν ἡ βαρκέλα ἐβυθίσθη μέσα εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ δὲν τᾶ ἔμεινε κἀνένα ἄλλο μέσον βοηθείας, παρὰ τὸ νὰ κρατῆται σφιχτὰ ἀπὸ τὰ δύκτια τῆς μηχανῆς. μία τοιαύτη ἐπικινδυνος κατασασις ἐμποδίζε καὶ τὲς ναύτας νὰ τὴν λύσωσι καὶ νὰ τὴν πλησιάσωσι τελείως, ἐπειδὴ ἐφοβᾶντο μήπως ἐμπερδευθῶσι καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰ σχοινία καὶ δεσίματα τῆς μηχανῆς.

Ἐφώναξε τότε πρὸς αὐτὲς νὰ διευθύνειν τὴν πρώραντες ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν μηχανὴν, καὶ μὲ αὐτὴν νὰ τὴν σπάσειν, τὸ ὁποῖον τὸ ἔκαμαν. εἰς τὸν ἴδιον καιρὸν τᾶ ἔῤῥιψαν ἕνα σχοινίον, ἀπὸ τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπιάσθη, κ᾽ ἔλαβε τὴν δύναμιν νὰ τὸ περιτιλύξῃ σφιχτὰ εἰς τὰς χείρας τε. τοιετοτρόπως λοιπὸν χρειὰ ἦτον νὰ τὸν σύρωσι διὰ πολλὴν ὥραν πρὸ τᾶ νὰ τὸν ἐμβάσωσι μέσα εἰς τὴν Βάρκαν, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν, τέλος πάντων, τὸν ἐτράβιξαν ἐξερημένον τελείως ἀπὸ τὰς φυσικάςτε δυνάμεις. ἐκεῖνο τὸ ξύλον ἦτον μία Βάρκα ἀπὸ τὴν Νῆσον Μὰν, ἀπὸ ἐκείνας δηλ: ὁπᾶ ψαρεύσι τὲς σκυράντζες. εἰς τοιαύτην κατάσασιν τὸν ἔφεραν εἰς τὸ Λιβερπώλ. ἀλλὰ βλέπωντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θεατῶν, ὁπᾶ τὸν ἐπρόσμενον, κ᾽ ὤντας ὅλος βρεγμένος καὶ καταξεσχιμένος ἐδιώρισε τὸν Καραβοκύρην νὰ τὸν πηγαίνῃ ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν Φριγάταν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Πριντζέσσαν, τῆς ὁποίας ὁ ἐξυσιαςὴς τὸν ἐδέχθη μὲ ξεχωρισὴν φιλοφροσύνην, καὶ τᾶ ἔδωκεν ὅλην τὴν ἀναψυχὴν, ὁ ὁποία ἦτον ἀναγκαία εἰς τὴν τοιαύτηντε κατάσασιν. μετὰ τᾶτο ὁ Κύριος Σάδλερ ἐπέςρεψεν εἰς τὸ Δυβλῖνον.

No. III.

Catalogue of officinal Plants growing in the Isle of Cephalonia.

See page 42.

MONANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Salicornia *herbacea.*

DIANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Jasminum *officinale.*
Olea *Europæa.*
Veronica *officinalis.*
Veronica *Beccabunga.*
Rosmarinus *officinalis.*
Salvia *officinalis.*
Salvia *pomifera.*
Gratiola *officinalis.*

TRIANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Iris *germanica.*

Digynia.

Triticum *repens.*

TETRANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Scabiosa *succisa.*
Scabiosa *arvensis.*
Galium *verum.*
Rubia *tinctorum.*
Plantago *major.*
Plantago *cynops.*

Digynia.

Cuscuta *Europæa.*

PENTANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Anchusa *officinalis.*
Cynoglossum *officinale.*
Pulmonaria *officinalis.*
Symphytum *officinale.*
Borago *officinalis.*
Primula *veris*,—a *officinalis.*
Cyclamen *Europæum.*
Lonicera *periclymenum.*
Verbascum *Thapsus.*
Nicotiana *tabacum.*
Hyoscyamus *niger.*
Solanum *melongena.*
Solanum *nigrum.*
Viola *odorata.*
Viola *tricolor.*
Capsicum *annuum.*
Rhamnus *catharticus.*
Rhamnus *zizyphus.*—Ziziphus *vulgaris? Willd.*
Hedera *Helix.*
Vitis *vinifera.*
β. — *apyrena.*

Digynia.

Asclepias *vincetoxicum.*
Chenopodium *bonus Henricus.*
Beta *vulgaris.*
Beta *Cicla.*
Salsola *sativa.*
Ulmus *campestris.*
Gentiana *centaurium.*
Daucus *carota.*
Conium *maculatum.*
Peucedanum *officinale.*
Coriandrum *sativum.*
Scandix *odorata.*
Scandix *cerefolium.*
Apium *petroselinum.*
Apium *graveolens.*

Trigynia.

Sambucus *ebulus.*

Sambucus *nigra.*
Tamarix *gallica.*

Pentagynia.

Linum *usitatissimum.*

HEXANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Allium *porrum.*
Allium *sativum.*
Allium *cepa.*
Lilium *candidum.*
Scilla *maritima.*
Asparagus *officinalis.*
Convallaria *majalis.*
Agave *americana.*

Trigynia.

Rumex *patientia.*
Rumex *alpinus.*
Rumex *acutus.*
Rumex *acetosa.*

Tetragynia.

Colchicum *autumnale.*

OCTANDRIA.

Trigynia.

Polygonum *bistorta.*

ENNEANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Laurus *nobilis.*

DECANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Cassia *senna.*
Ruta *graveolens.*
Sedum *palustre.*

Pentagynia.

Sedum *acre.*

DODECANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Portulaca *oleracea.*
Lythrum *salicaria.*

Trigynia.

Reseda *luteola.*

Dodecagynia.

Sempervivum *Tectorum.*

ICOSANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Myrtus *communis.*
Punica *granatum.*
Prunus *padus.*
Prunus *cerasus.*
Amygdalus *communis.*
Amygdalus *persica.*

Pentagynia.

Pyrus *communis.*
Pyrus *cydonia.*

Polygynia.

Rosa *centifolia.*
Rosa *alba.*
Potentilla *anserina.*
Potentilla *reptans.*
Tormentilla *erecta.*

POLYANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Capparis *spinosa.*
Papaver *somniferum.*
Papaver *Rhoeas.*

Digynia.

Pæonia *officinalis.*

Trigynia.

Delphinium *Staphisagria.*

Polygynia.

Anemone *hepatica.*
Anemone *pratensis.*
Clematis *recta.*
Helleborus *niger.*

DIDYNAMIA.

Gymnospermia.

Teucrium *pseudo-chæmepitys.*

Teucrium *scordium.*
Teucrium *chamædrys.*
Hyssopus *officinalis.*
Lavandula *spica.*
Mentha *piperitis.*
Mentha *pulegium.*
Glecoma *hederacea.*
Betonica *officinalis.*
Marrubium *vulgare.*
Origanum *vulgare.*
Origanum *majorana.*
Thymus *vulgaris.*
Melissa *officinalis.*
Ocymum *Basilicum.*

Angiospermia.

Scrophularia *nodosa.*
Vitex *agnus-castus.*

TETRADYNAMIA

Siliculosa.

Lepidium *sativum.*
Cochlearia *officinalis.*
Cochlearia *armoracia.*

Siliquosa.

Cardamine *pratensis.*
Erysimum *officinale.*
Brassica (mutæ species.)
Sinapis *nigra.*
Raphanus *sativus.*

MONADELPHIA.

Polyandria.

Althæa *officinalis.*
Malva *rotundifolia.*
Gossypium *herbaceum.*

DIADELPHIA.

Hexandria.

Fumaria *officinalis.*

Decandria.

Genista *tinctoria.*
Ononis *spinosa.*
Glycyrrhiza *glabra.*

POLYADELPHIA.

Icosandria.

Citrus *medica.*
Citrus *aurantium.*

Polyandria.

Hypericum *quadrangulare.*

SYNGENESIA.

Æqualis.

Scorzonera *hispanica.*
Leontodon *taraxacum.*
Cichorium *intybus.*
Atractylis *gummifera.*
Arctium *lappa.*
Cynara *scolymus.*
Carthamus *tinctorius.*

Superflua.

Tanacetum *vulgare.*
Tanacetum *balsamita.* —T. *argenteum?* vel T. *incanum?*
Artemisia *abrotanum.*
Artemisia *absinthium.*
Tussilago *farfara.*
Matricaria *chamomilla.*
Anthemis *nobilis.*

Necessaria.

Calendula *officinalis.*

GYNANDRIA.

Monandria.

Orchis *morio.*

Hexandria.

Aristolochia *rotunda.*

MONOECIA.

Tetrandria.

Urtica *dioica*
Morus *nigra.*

Polyandria.

Arum *maculatum.*

Betula *alba.*
Quercus *cerris.*
Quercus *robur.*

Monadelphia.

Pinus *sylvestris.*
Pinus *abies.*
Cupressus *sempervirens.*
Ricinus *communis.*
Momordica *elaterium.*
Bryonia *alba.*

DIOECIA.

Diandria.

Salix *pentandria.*

Pentandria.

Spinacia *oleracea.*

Hexandria.

Smilax *aspera.*

Enneandria.

Mercurialis *annua.*

POLYGAMIA.

Monoecia.

Parietaria *officinalis.*
Atriplex *patula.*

Dioecia.

Ceratonia *siliqua.*

CRYPTOGAMIA.

Filices.

Asplenium *Ceterach.*
Polypodium *Filix major.*

Algæ.

Lichen (*plures species.*)

No. IV.

Catalogue of Plants met with in the Environs of Ioannina.

See page 141.

MONANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Salicornia *herbacea.*

DIANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Verbena *officinalis.*
Veronica *Beccabunga.*
——— *spicata.*
——— *cordifolia* — V. *agrestis?*
——— *pseudo-chamædrys*, Jacq. — *latifolia*, Willd.
Lycopus *Europæus.*
Ligustrum *vulgare.*
Jasminum *fruticans.*
Pinguicula *vulgaris.*
Salvia *officinalis.*
Salvia *Horminum.*
——— *sclarea.*

TRIANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Crocus *sylvestris.*
Iris *palustris* — *pseud-Acorus?*
— *germanica.*
Valeriana *officinalis.*
——— *dioica.*

Digynia.

Arundo *lacustris* — *Phragmites?*
Avena *pratensis.*
——— *flexuosa* — *distichophylla?*
Cynosurus *inflatus* — *sphærocephalus?*
Dactylis *glomerata.*
Hordeum *murinum.*

TETRANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Aphanes *arvensis.*
Cernus *mascula.*
——— *sanguinea.*
Gallium *aparine.*
——— *verum.*
Plantago *major.*
——— *lanceolata.*
Rubia *tinctorum.*
——— *peregrina.*
Scabiosa *vulgaris.*
——— *succisa.*

Digynia.

Cuscuta *Europæa.*

PENTANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Anchusa *officinalis.*
Atropa *Belladonna.*
Anagallis *arvensis.*
Campanula *medium.*
——— *Hybrida.*
——— *speculum veneris.*
——— *sanabilis.*
Convolvulus *Sepium.*
Datura *stramonium.*
——— *Metel.*
Echium *vulgare.*
Hedera *Helix.*
Hyoscyamus *niger.*
Lithospermum *arvensis.*
Lysimachia *vulgaris.*
Lonicera *caprifolium.*
Lycopsis *pulla.*
Onosma *orientalis.*
Primula *minima.*
Plumbago *officinalis.*
Rhamnus *paliurus.*
Solanum *vulgare — nigrum?*
——— *Dulcamara.*
Solanum *lycopersicum.*
Symphitum *consolida.*
Vitis *vinifera.*
Ulmus *campestris.*
Verbascum *Thapsus.*
——— *blattaria.*
——— *Phœnicum.*
Viola *montana.*

Digynia.

Apium *graveolens.*
Bupleurum *lanceolatum.*
Conium *maculatum.*
Chenopodium *vulgare.*
Eryngium *maritimum.*
——— *campestre.*
Gentiana *centaureum.*
——— *cruciata.*
Herniaria *glabra.*
Rhus *coriaria.*
Scandix *cerefolium.*
Scandix *pecten veneris.*
Selinum *palustre.*

Trigynia.

Viburnum.
Alsine *vulgaris — media?*
Sambucus *nigra.*
——— *Ebulus.*

Pentagynia.

Crassula *orbicularis.*

HEXANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Asphodelus *luteus.*
Asparagus *officinalis.*
Convallaria *Majalis.*
——— *polygonatum.*
Hyacinthus *communis — nonscriptus?*
Ornithogalum *minimum.*
——— *Pyrenaicum.*
——— *Narbonense.*
——— *pyramidale.*

Ornithogalum *umbellatum.*
Tulipa *Gesneriana.*

Trigynia.

Rumex *acetosa.*
——— *Acetosella.*

Tetragynia.

Colchicum *autumnale.*
Alisma *plantago.*

OCTANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Epilobium *palustre.*

Trigynia.

Polygonum *Persicaria.*

ENNEANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Laurus *nobilis.*

Hexagynia.

Butomus *umbellatus.*

DECANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Zygophyllum *Fabago.*
Dictamnus *albus.*

Digynia.

Dianthus *carthusianorum.*
——— *barbatus.*
——— *prolifer.*
——— *fassiculatus.*
Silena *Muscipula.*
Saxafraga *coronaria.*

Trigynia.

Cucubalus *Behen*

Pentagynia.

Sedum *album.*
——— *Rupestre.*
Agrostema *Githago.*
Lychnis *dioica.*
Oxalis *acetosella.*
Phytolacca *decandra.*

DODECANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Lythrum *salicaria.*
Nitraria.

Digynia.

Agrimonia *eupatoria.*
——— *Agrimonioides.*

Trigynia.

Euphorbia.
Reseda *major.*

Dodecagynia.

Sempervivum *Tectorum.*

ICOSANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Myrtus *communis.*
Punica *granatum.*
Prunus *spinosa.*

Trigynia.

Cratægus *oxyacantha.*
Sorbus *domestica.*

Tetragynia.

Spirea *crenata.*

Polgynia.

Geum *urbanum.*
Rosa *canina.*
Rubus *Idæus.*

POLYANDRIA.

Monogynia.

Chelidonium *majus.*
——— *corniculatum.*
——— *glaucium.*
Cistus *arabicus.*
Nymphea *alba.*
——— *lutea.*
Papaver *rhoeas.*
——— *hispidum.*
Tilia *europæa.*

Trigynia.

Aconitum *napellus.*
Delphinium *Ajacis.*

Polygynia.

Adonis *vernalis.*
Anemone *pratensis.*
Helleborus *niger.*
Ranunculus *aquatilis.*
——— *muricatus.*
——— *luteus — acris?*
——— *trilobus.*
——— *bulbosus.*
——— *arvensis.*
——— *Ficaria.*
——— *Sceleratus.*

DIDYNAMIA.

Gymnospermia.

Ballota *nigra.*
Clinopodium *vulgare.*
——— *Botrys.*
Mentha *aquatica.*
——— *sylvestris.*
——— *arvensis.*
——— *Pulegium.*
Origanum *vulgare.*
Prunella *vulgaris.*
Stachys *sylvatica.*
Teucrium *scordium.*
——— *pseudo-chamæpitys.*
Marrubium *album.*
——— *vulgare.*
Scutellaria *galericulata.*

Angiospermia.

Antirrhinum *linaria.*
Euphrasia *officinalis.*
Vitex *agnus-castus.*
Scrophularia *nodosa.*

TETRADYNAMIA.

Siliculosa.

Draba *verna.*
Draba *incana.*
Thlapsi *Bursa-pastoris.*

Siliquosa.

Arabis *alpinus.*
Erysimum *alliaria.*
Raphanus *Raphanistrum.*
Sinapis *arvensis.*
Sisymbrium *Nasturtium.*
——— *sylvestre.*
——— *Sophia.*
Turitis *glabra.*

MONADELPHIA.

Decandria.

Geranium *moschatum.*
——— *lucidum.*
——— *Robertianum.*
——— *columbinum.*

Polyandria.

Alcea *arborea* — Althæa *ficifolia?*
Althæa *officinalis.*
Malva *sylvestris.*

DIADELPHIA.

Hexandria.

Fumaria *officinalis.*

Decandria.

Astragalus *glycyphyllus.*
Coronilla *varia.*
Hedysarum *fruticosum.*
Lathyrus *Cicer.*
Ononis *spinosa.*
Orobus *Pyrenaicum.*
Trifolium *pratense.*
——— *Lappaceum.*
——— *purpureum.*
——— *rubens.*
——— *agrarium.*
——— *corniculatum.*
Vicia *sepium.*

POLYADELPHIA.

Polyandria.

Hypericum *perforatum.*

SYNGENESIA.

Æqualis.

Arctium *lappa.*
Bidens *tripartita.*
Carduus *lanceolatus.*
Cichoreum *Intybus.*
Eupatorium *Canabina.*
Lactuca *virosa.*
Onopordon *Acanthium.*

Superflua.

Achillea *millefolium.*
Artemisia *Abrotanum.*
——— *absinthium.*
Anthemis *Tinctoria.*
——— *Cotula.*
——— *nobilis.*
Aster *alpinus.*
——— *Tripolium.*
Bellis *perennis.*
Matricaria *Chamomilla.*
Senecio *vulgaris.*
Tanacetum *vulgare.*
Chrysanthemum *inodorum.*

Necessaria.

Filago *pyramidalis.*

Frustanea.

Centaurea *Benedicta.*
——— *Cyanus.*
——— *Calcitrapa.*

MONOECIA.

Monandria.

Ceratocarpus *arenarius.*

Tetrandria.

Urtica *dioica.*
Xanthium *strumarium.*

Polyandria.

Arum *Dracunculus.*
Arum *lanceolatum — tenuifolium?*
Quercus *crinita.*
——— *Infectoria.*
——— *ægilops.*

Monadelphia.

Bryonia *officinalis — alba?*
Pinus *Pinea.*
Ricinus *communis.*

DIOECIA.

Diandria.

Salix *Helix.*
—— *Babylonica.*
—— *Betiolus.*
—— *pentandria.*
—— *luprica.*

Tetrandria.

Pistacia *lentiscus.*

Hexandria.

Populus *alba.*
——— *nigra.*

Octandria.

Mercurialis *perennis.*

Polyandria.

Juniperus *sabina.*

POLYGAMIA.

Monoecia.

Holcus *saccharatus.*

Dioecia.

Diospyrus *lotus.*

CRYPTOGAMIA.

Algæ.

Marchantia *Polymorpha.*

Fungi.

Lycoperdon *tuberosum.*

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ERRATA.

Page 11, line 16, for *from*, read *for*
22, 1; for *Patias*, read *Patras*
42, 3 from the bottom, for *northerly*, read *southerly*
46, 11, for *in*, read *it*
91, 9, for *Sali*, read *Suli*
136, 6, and wherever else it occurs, for *Pouquèville*, read *Pouqueville*, without the accent
203, 21, for *hard*, read *hand*
406, 4, from the bottom, for *these*, read *those*
499, Note, for *Græii*, read *Græci*

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